

STATES CONTRIBUTING
TO NOMINATION

DRAWER

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CANDIDATE & CONVENTION

1860

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Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

States Contributing to Nomination

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

Archibald W. Campbell

Oct 30 1859

....The Pennsylvanians will press the names of Cameron and
Judy Reed the former may have a mgj. of the Pa. delegates. The
friends of each desire to have Lincoln of Illinois run with them
as Vice P. But the friends of the gallant Old Abe will never con-
sent to put the tallest end of the ticket behind. If the doubt-
ful states of Pa, Ind, and Ill are to name the candidate the west
will settle down upon the tall son of this State. He can carry
the entire Northwest - Ind. included. He is a Kentuckian by birth,
lived 10 years in Indiana - stumped it for Henry Clay in 44, -
and 25 in Illinois, was an old Clay Whig, is right on the tariff
and he is exactly right on all other issues. Is there any man
who could suit Pennsylvania better. The west is entitled to the
president and he lives in the very heart of it. How does the mat-
ter strike you. On the hypothesis that the four states lost by
Fremont should name the candidate, has not Old Abe more available
points than any man yet named. Personally I prefer Gov. Chase to
any man - believing that he possesses the best executive ability
but if he is not considered available is not Old Abe the man to
win with.

Medill

Wheeling, W. Va. Register

May 1, 1932

GOVS. LANE AND CURTIN ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT.

The Pledge of Lincoln's Friends to Make Simon Cameron Secretary of the Treasury—He Got to Be Secretary of War and Was Sent Away in Disgrace.

12.6
Hon. J. Richard Barret, the first president of the St. Louis Fair Association, was for nearly forty years a prominent Democrat of Missouri, but is now a resident of New York City. He was elected a member of Congress from the city and county of St. Louis in 1859, and, being an ardent supporter of Stephen A. Douglas, was personally familiar with all the exciting facts incident to the outbreak and development of the war. Mr. Barret has read with interest the recent articles by Colonel McClure of Philadelphia concerning the nomination of Lincoln to the Presidency, and has this to say as being supplementary and of decided importance:

NEW YORK, Dec. 2.—I read with much pleasure and interest an article published in the New York Sun of September 6, entitled "Lincoln in 1860—His First Nomination for President at Chicago," by Colonel A. K. McClure. It is true that for nearly two years before the meeting of the Chicago convention in 1860, the Republican party had in Wm. H. Seward the one prominent leader, who was everywhere recognized as their coming candidate for President, the man who had done most to build up and crystallize Republican sentiment and organization and it was well known that certainly two-thirds of the delegates to that convention preferred him above all others as their candidate for President. Such was the feeling in favor of Seward that it was generally believed that he would be nominated on the first ballot.

This must very certainly have been the result, but for the action of Andrew J. Curtin, the Republican candidate for Governor in the State of Pennsylvania, and Henry S. Lane, the Republican candidate for Governor in the State of Indiana.

These two men, admittedly the ablest and most available candidates that could be nominated in their respective States, both experienced and consummate politicians, believed that a desperate battle would have to be fought for control of the October elections in the States of Pennsylvania and Indiana, and that on success or defeat in those elections would depend the success or defeat of the Republican party for President in the coming November.

These two men, Curtin and Lane, believed and were fully agreed upon this one thing, that the nomination of Seward meant hopeless defeat for them in their respective States.

They felt no personal hostility to Seward. They had no prejudice against his "higher-law" doctrine. It was simply the firm conviction and the positive assurance of the two men who were best able to judge and speak for those States that were to control the national contest which formed this strong, seemingly determined and fully committed "Seward" convention to take pause, and finally reject his nomination, and thus defeat him in his own convention.

What induced, even compelled, Curtin and Lane to make such a strenuous and aggressive resistance to his nomination was Seward's attitude on the school question when Governor of New York. His position on this question had been objectionable, even offensive, to many thousands of voters in both Pennsylvania and Indiana. It was his record on this simple question while Governor of New York that made him an impossible candidate. There was no reason whatever for opposition to his nomination as a candidate for President, except the settled conviction that his nomination would result in the inevitable defeat of the party.

Colonel McClure's very full and complete account and explanation of the masterly action of Curtin and Lane, by which the fixed determination of the convention to nominate Seward on the first ballot was at first delayed and subsequently defeated, was particularly and especially interesting to me, who

had been kept fully informed at the time as to much that took place at Chicago. It so happened that the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, then United States Senator from Illinois, and I, a very devoted friend of his and a Representative in Congress from the city and County of St. Louis, Mo., were kept thoroughly posted as to all proceedings of the Republican party at the convention. Mr. Douglas, if alive, could vouch for the truth of the very full and complete statement of Colonel McClure in regard to the Chicago convention. This statement, so lurid in its style and so complete in its detail, was most refreshing and interesting to me, a survivor. But I must express my regret that he failed to tell the whole story. There is still something that may and should be added to the truth of history, and which may prove interesting even at this late day.

Under the advice of Curtin and Lane, the strong "Seward" convention did take pause—and during this pause, this delay or hesitation, time was given to the friends of Abraham Lincoln to see and sound the delegates of such States as were not then fully committed to Seward. Among these friends were Messrs. Stewart and Edwards, the Hon. David Davis, Norman B. Judd and Leonard Swett, men of high positions and of consummate ability and sagacity. These men very soon found that the all-important thing for them to do was to control the vote of Pennsylvania. Being assured of Indiana, they were perfectly confident that with the vote of Pennsylvania in his favor, Lincoln could be nominated and elected.

The Pennsylvania delegation was under the control and leadership of Simon Cameron, and was not committed to Seward. One of the devoted friends of Lincoln was selected to confer with Cameron. The result of that conference was a promise on the part of Cameron, that, after the first ballot in the convention (which would be given to him) the Pennsylvania delegation would then cast its vote in favor of Lincoln's nomination, but upon this condition, that they, the closest and most devoted friends of Lincoln, should give a solemn pledge that Cameron be given the position of Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Lincoln if he should be elected President.

With this understanding the vote of Pennsylvania was given, and Lincoln was nominated. In this connection the fact should be stated that Mr. Lincoln knew nothing of this agreement and pledge on the part of his friends until after his election in November, nor indeed until some time after his election. When he did learn what his friends had done, he at once declared that "he just could not appoint Cameron Secretary of the Treasury." To one of his friends he said privately: "It would never do to put so much temptation in Simon's way."

He did, however, appoint Cameron Secretary of War, this being as much as he would do towards carrying out the pledges made by his friends at Chicago.

In a communication to the New York Sun of the 20th of September last, Colonel McClure stated the fact that Mr. Lincoln sent for Cameron at Springfield, Ill., and on the 31st of December, 1860, tendered to him the appointment of a position in his Cabinet as Secretary of War. Colonel McClure also stated the interesting fact, not generally known, that the appointment of Cameron was recalled by Mr. Lincoln on the day after it was made, but that two months later, and when Lincoln's Cabinet was formed in Washington, the appointment of Cameron was renewed and at once accepted.

The war had not been very long in progress when it was discovered that Simon Cameron, to whom the position of Secretary of War had been so reluctantly given, was found guilty of peculating in arms. Of course he was dismissed from the high office in a very summary manner.

But soon after this Mr. Lincoln, moved by Cameron in tears, imploring for forgiveness and mercy, as well as by appeals of friends entreating that the old Senator and his family be saved from disgrace, and being at that particular time, just at the opening of the war, especially desirous of preventing scandal, allowed Cameron to resign, and, in an endeavor to gloss over to some extent the great scandal, sent him as far as possible from the country, and out of sight, by appointing him Minister to Russia.

J. RICHARD BARRET.

NOMINATION OF LINCOLN

PART TAKEN BY INDIANA IN THE FAMOUS CONVENTION OF 1860.

According to the Late General Veatch
This State Was Hardly Less
Loyal Than Illinois.

Indiana played an important part in the Republican national convention of 1860—a part which, timed as it was, when Illinois needed the active help of a powerful ally, gave Abraham Lincoln the presidential nomination. The November number of McClure's Magazine contains an interesting article on the famous convention which met in the Wigwam, on the shores of Lake Michigan, over thirty-six years ago, giving a peep into the inside workings of that remarkable gathering of Republicans. It devotes most of its space to the work of the Illinois delegation, but credits Indiana with having been the first to join her sister State in the fight for the "rail-splitting" candidate. The inestimable services of Indiana in helping nominate Lincoln, whom she claimed as her own, are not generally known, and I give the following account of her efforts, as related to me by the late Gen. James C. Veatch, a few weeks before his death:

"A gentleman named Allen, of Vincennes, and myself were chosen as delegates from the First district to the national convention, which was to meet in Chicago in May. We went under instructions to vote for Bates, of Missouri, in case he stood any chance of receiving the nomination. Our people were conservative on the question of slavery—true Republicans, but not radical, and they feared the advanced ideas of Seward. Allen and I left on a steamboat for St. Louis, where we were to join the Bates men. Our trip was slow and leisurely, and we canvassed the situation pretty thoroughly. It soon developed that neither of us had any idea that Bates would be successful, and I told Allen that my choice was fixed, and that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, would receive my vote. He had won my admiration by his remarkable speeches in the Douglas debates, but my acquaintance extended further back than that. It had been almost twenty years since I had first seen him, in the campaign of 1844, when, as an awkward, unknown lawyer, he returned from Illinois to his old home in Spencer country to make a few speeches for his favorite, Henry Clay. At that time I was editing the county paper and one morning I heard it spoken of among the older men that 'Abe' Lincoln was to speak at Rockport that night. The name was slightly familiar and I associated it with a country wag that had lived in the county a number of years before. That evening a crowd assembled at the courthouse and gathered around the large fireplace in each end of the room. In a short time the speaker entered, was introduced to a few and ascended the stand. I was disappointed in him. His appearance was awkward, his voice high and squeaky, and he had none of that extreme dignity which clothed the State orators I had heard. In vain I listened for a joke or a story. But soon I was struck by his manner of statement. The principal issue was the tariff, even then beaten thin as gold leaf. He placed things in a new light; dry facts became interesting. For over an hour I listened breathlessly and at its close I thought it the most remarkable speech that I had ever heard, and think so to-day.

EFFECT OF THE SPEECH.

"I mentioned this speech to Allen and recurred to the fact that Lincoln's boyhood was spent in southern Indiana. Allen was favorably disposed toward Lincoln and we agreed to use our influence to bring the Indiana delegation into line for him.

"We reached St. Louis and mingled with the supporters of Bates, without revealing our identity, and soon learned that they had no hopes of nominating Bates, merely wishing to place him prominently before the convention, and thus secure a Cabinet position. Upon our arrival in Chicago we immediately sought the Indiana headquarters and began our efforts in behalf of Lincoln. Most of the district delegates were undetermined and soon expressed a willingness to support the Illinois man. However, there were two delegates from Indianapolis—one a relative and supporter of Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and another who supported Chase or McLean—who held out for their men. Finally we prevailed upon the Cameron man to refrain from voting, and the other delegate came over to us.

"In company with Illinois delegates we separated into groups and began the crusade for Lincoln. We sought the headquarters of Eastern States and asked them: 'How many votes will you give Lincoln?' They were willing to vote for an 'available' candidate and anxiously inquired of Lincoln's strength. 'Illinois and Indiana solid on the first vote,' was our assurance, and they replied that any one could carry the East, and that if Lincoln was the man to carry the West, they were for him. Day and night Indiana and Illinois worked side by side without resting, and we secured a promise here and an assurance there that told us our cause was gaining, and that the 'Big Giant' was the coming man.

"Affairs were in this condition when the delegates and the immense crowd gathered in the Wigwam on the opening day of the convention, on May 16. On Wednesday and Thursday the usual routine of convention work was carried out, but it was not a time of rest. We had gained some votes in New England, but Virginia and Pennsylvania were uncertain. There was talk of McLean, of the latter State, but Tom Corwin disposed of that with the observation that 'we might as well nominate Moses.' McLean was over seventy years of age. Thursday afternoon came and we secured an adjournment without a vote until Friday.

THE MEMORABLE FRIDAY.

"That night came the final, almost superhuman effort to center the opposition on Lincoln, and the morning dawned with a hopeful, almost sanguine feeling among the supporters of Lincoln. At 10 o'clock on Friday morning the convention reassembled, and the scene presented was inspiring. The immense hall was densely packed, anticipation and suppressed excitement being shown in every face. Above the speaker's stand an opening had been cut in the roof and a watchman was stationed there to herald the news of the nomination to the vast multitude outside. A battery of artillery had been stationed there to boom the tidings of the nomination. The first ballot was taken amidst breathless interest. Lincoln led all candidates in opposition to Seward. The second ballot showed about 180 for our candidate—Pennsylvania had come to the rescue. The third ballot began. Breathlessly we marked that score (I have the figures that I made in my papers), and Lincoln was within a vote or two of the prize, but had failed. That next moment was overwhelming, when Carter, of Ohio, arose and changed four votes of that State from Chase to Lincoln. I shall never forget that scene—a wild, prolonged, tremendous applause. The watchman on the roof flashed the news to the multitude on the outside, and the cannons boomed, the cheers went up and yet we heard not a sound of the outward demonstration. The vibration of the cannonading could be felt, but no sound penetrated the pandemonium that reigned within.

"The cheering finally subsided and I made my way to the entrance to see the notables pass out. William Evarts passed arm in arm with Thurlow Weed, and Weed said: 'Seward is beaten and all is lost,' but Evarts replied that he 'hoped not; the outlook may brighten before the election.'"

Indiana can rightfully boast of her part in the second great Republican convention. She assisted in securing for the country the services of her former citizen, Illinois's great statesman and the country's most beloved patriot. And yet, had Lincoln not delivered that forgotten speech in his old home in the campaign of 1844, things might have resulted otherwise, perhaps less happily for the country.

HARDY MASTERSON.

Rockport, Ind., Nov. 20.

1896

4 E 1 R

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FROM the beginning of Lincoln's serious political ambition his relations with THE TRIBUNE were close and constant. He regarded it as his chief journalistic mouthpiece in the west. To it he looked for support and guidance and at no time did it falter when he asked its help.

Its support of Lincoln during the titanic struggle for the senatorship was of the greatest help to him, for even at that date it was the leading newspaper of the state and wielded an immense influence with people of all parties. Mr. Medill, a thorough journalist, bent all his energies and those of his newspaper to the election of a legislature favorable to Lincoln, but the Republican party, then only two years old as an organization, lost the battle. On every hand, however, it was conceded that Douglas' victory was won at such a cost that it was in effect a defeat. Through the influence of THE TRIBUNE in this campaign the wavering factions were brought into line, and it was made possible for Illinois to face the coming presidential fight with a candidate and a platform which meant certain victory.

The reporting of the Lincoln-Douglas debates by THE TRIBUNE set a new era in journalism and gave the newspaper a reputation for enterprise which it has ever maintained. It sent as its chief correspondent with the debaters Mr. Horace White, now the veteran journalist of New York, whose masterly summing up of "the critical period" of Lincoln's life appears on another page of this centenary edition. He attached himself to THE PRESS AND TRIBUNE, as it was then called, in 1857, and in the following year was assigned to report the debates. In Herndon's "Life of Lincoln" Mr. White is quoted as follows:

It was my good fortune to accompany Mr. Lincoln during his political campaign against Senator Douglas in 1858, not only at the joint debates, but also at most of the smaller meetings where his competitor was not present. We traveled together many thousands of miles. I was in the employ of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, then called THE PRESS AND TRIBUNE. Senator Douglas had entered upon his campaign with two short-handlers, James B. Sheridan and Henry Blinnmore, whose duty it was to "write it up" in the columns of the Chicago Times. The necessity of counteracting or matching that force became apparent soon, and I was chosen to write up Mr. Lincoln's campaign.

I was not a shorthand reporter. The verbatim reporting for THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE in the joint debates was done by Mr. Robert R. Hitt, late assistant secretary of state. . . . Verbatim reporting was a new feature in journalism in Chicago and Mr. Hitt was the pioneer thereof. The publication of Senator Douglas' opening speech in that campaign, delivered on the evening of July 9, by THE TRIBUNE the next morning, was a feat hitherto unexampled in the west, and most mortifying to the Democratic newspaper, the Times, and to Sheridan and Blinnmore, who, after taking down the speech as carefully as Mr. Hitt had done, had gone to bed intending to write it out the next day, as was then customary.

All of the seven joint debates were reported by Mr. Hitt for THE TRIBUNE, the manuscript passing through my hands before going to the printers, but no changes were made by me except in a few cases where confusion on the platform, or the blowing of the wind, had caused some slight hiatus or evident mistake in catching the speaker's words. I could not resist the temptation to italicise a few passages in Mr. Lincoln's speeches, where his manner of delivery had been especially emphatic.

Here (Ottawa) I was joined by Mr. Hitt and also by Chester P. Dewey of the New York Evening Post, who remained with us until the end of the campaign. Hither, also, came quite an army of young newspaper men, among whom was Henry Villard, in behalf of Forney's Philadelphia Press.

During these years Mr. Lincoln frequently came to Chicago and when he did he never failed to call on Joseph Medill, whose personal acquaintance and friendship he had had for a long while. Mr. Medill recognized in Lincoln those qualities of which states-

men and heroes are made, and although at times he personally did not approve of some of Lincoln's acts, he never failed to give him complete and valuable support at all times. From the time when Mr. Medill was so swept away by Lincoln's great speech at the Bloomington convention that he forgot to report it, he was convinced that the speaker was logically the man to lead the nation out of the quagmire into which it had fallen over the question of slavery, and he lost no opportunity in his newspaper of advocating the views put forward by Lincoln.

In those days Lincoln was described as a gawky, joke telling, ill dressed, modest yet astute country lawyer, who occasionally had business in the law courts of Chicago. During his visits here he gave some sittings to Leonard Volk, the sculptor, who, like Mr. Medill, saw the future greatness of the man. But oftener than to any other place in Chicago, outside of court hours, Mr. Lincoln would go to THE TRIBUNE office and climb the stairs and sit in the literary workshop of Mr. Medill with his feet on the edge of the editor's desk. It was in these conferences that Mr. Medill would press upon Mr. Lincoln the duty of taking the most advanced position in the paramount issue of the time, the effectual reconciliation of the constitution with the true principles of national sovereignty and universal individual rights.

Mr. Medill used to tell in his later years of a joke Lincoln played on him and Dr. Charles Ray, editor-in-chief of THE TRIBUNE, at the occasion of the Cooper Union speech in New York City. In a letter written a year before his death he recounted the incident in these words in a letter to B. F. Tracy:

Chicago, Jan. 18, 1898.—Hon. B. F. Tracy, Dear Sir: Replying to your note of Jan. 1 asking me to relate the story I told you at Bar Harbor in regard to the preparation of Lincoln's Cooper Institute speech in the winter of 1860, preceding his presidential campaign. As it occurred a long time ago I must relate it briefly to avoid error of memory through lapse of time.

This is what I remember:

At that time I was acting as secretary pro tem. for the Republican state central committee of Illinois and was on quite familiar terms with Mr. Lincoln. He had been invited by leading Republicans of New York to deliver a political address in that city

near the time of Washington's birthday, which he had accepted.

One day he came into THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE sanctum about that time, where he found Dr. Charles D. Ray, chief editor, and myself, the associate editor. He was a New Yorker by nativity, breeding, and education. He had abandoned the medical profession for that of journalism in this state.

Mr. Lincoln said to us when he came in that he had completed the address he intended to deliver in New York within a few days, and that he had brought the manuscript along with him from Springfield and would like to leave it with us to look over till the next day, when he would call for it.

As he expected to deliver it before a critical eastern audience he wished us to examine it and to note down such changes of words and phraseology as we thought would improve it, but he did not want the ideas or arguments used materially altered.

We agreed to undertake the revision and do the best we could dealing with the document in the most judicious manner.

After he left Ray and I buckled down to the delicate task. One read slowly while the other listened attentively, and the reading was frequently interrupted to consider suggested improvements of diction, the insertion of synonyms, or points to render the text smoother or stronger, as it seemed to us.

Thus we toiled for some hours, till the revision was completed to our satisfaction, and we returned to the office early next morning to reexamine our work before Mr. Lincoln would call for the revised and improved manuscript. When he came in we handed him our numerous notes with the reference places carefully marked on the margins of the pages where each emendation was to be inserted. We turned over the address to him with a self-satisfied feeling that we had considerably bettered the document and enabled it to pass the coming critical ordeal more triumphantly than otherwise it would.

He thanked us cordially for our trouble, glanced at our notes, told us a funny story or two of which the circumstances reminded him, and took his leave.

A few days later the news arrived out west that Mr. Lincoln had delivered a great political address in Cooper Institute before an immense audience, who had vociferously applauded it, William Cullen Bryant, the poet-editor of the Evening Post, presiding.

In due course of mail the New York papers arrived in Chicago containing a full report of the address, with commendatory editorial notices praising the strength, cogency, and high moral tone of the speech. Dr. Ray and I seized copies of the papers and plunged eagerly into the report, feeling quite satisfied with the successful effect of the polish we had applied to the address.

We both got done reading it about the same time. With a sickly sort of smile Dr. Ray looked at me and remarked: "Medill, old Abe must have lost out of the car window all our precious notes, for I don't find a trace of one of them in his published talk here." I tried to laugh in a weak way and said: "This must have been meant for one of his waggish jokes."

"Perhaps so, but we must keep this joke to ourselves, for if the boys find it out they will never get done telling it at our expense and laughing at us."

"You may bet your bottom dollar it will never get out through me," I replied. And it is now related for the first time since the occurrence nearly forty years ago.

Mr. Lincoln never alluded to the matter in any subsequent conversation we had with him, and the wags who would have "roasted" us never heard of the incident. Neither of us felt in the least flattered at the part

we had played and much preferred letting it fade out. With us it was a case of what Shakespeare called "Love's Labor Lost."

Our sole consolation was that we had not sought the job. Very truly yours,

JOSEPH MEDILL.

About twenty-one years ago, in an interview, Mr. Medill compared the movement for Lincoln with the boom then on for Judge Gresham. As events turned out, the results were not the same, but what he had to say about Lincoln and the forces for and against him in the Republican party contained much which had not, up to that time, been made public. In the course of the talk Mr. Medill said:

"It is not generally known," said Mr. Medill, "that of the twenty-two delegates to the convention of 1860 from Illinois less than two-thirds majority was resolutely for Abraham Lincoln. The northern part of the state was for Seward. So in 1854, when Logan was brought forward, the northern part of Illinois was for Blaine. If you draw a line through the town of Bloomington most of the population north of that came from the more radical states like New York, the western reserve of Ohio, and New England. The way the vote of Illinois was secured for Lincoln was to bind it to vote as a unit, and when an informal vote was taken within the delegation it was found that Lincoln had the most votes, and therefore some seven persons who preferred Seward felt that they were in a degree committed to Lincoln. The Chicago Journal, 'Long John' Wentworth's Democrat, and Capt. Schnelder's Staats-Zeltung were all for Seward. THE TRIBUNE alone fought for Lincoln. I may say that there were not more than seven or eight persons in the Illinois delegation who went into the movement for Lincoln really supposing that he could defeat Mr. Seward. The friends of Seward thought there was nothing dangerous in this Lincoln movement until the second ballot had been taken.

"There was altogether more management of the nomination of Mr. Lincoln than history has set down. We made our first break to get votes outside of the state in the neighboring state of Indiana, which had at the time, if I correctly remember, twenty-six votes to twenty-two for Illinois. We were still apportioning delegates, according to the census of 1850, which made out Indiana to be a larger state than Illinois."

"Who were the persons most prominent from Illinois in nominating Mr. Lincoln?"

"Norman B. Judd of Chicago was prominent, and Ebenezer Peck, and so was Dr. Ray, then the senior editor of THE TRIBUNE; and David Davis of Bloomington, and O. H. Browning of Quincy, and Jesse K. Dubois, O. M. Hatch, and D. L. Phillips of Springfield

were all powerful. When these had got the Illinois delegation secure they began to work on the state of Indiana, and certain persons were sent there, or the leading Indiana men were brought to Illinois and conferred with. Chief of those probably was John D. Defrees, who then edited the Indianapolis Journal, and next to him Henry S. Lane. Schuyler Colfax was for Bates. Caleb Smith, who afterward went into Lincoln's cabinet, was another one who came in. Richard Thompson of Terre Haute

was another. Morton, Pratt, and Ott all joined in the 'deal.' There were several others whose names I forget. Now Indiana had a boom of its own, ostensibly for Senator Harrison. They had rather coddled Henry S. Lane as an Indiana favorite. In order to get Lane out of the road it was necessary to make some promises. I was a friend of Lincoln and had information of all that was going on. Among those who saw the Indiana delegation was J. K. Dubois of Springfield, Mr. O. M. Hatch, who held one of the state offices, and N. B. Judd, I think. When I saw Dr. Ray after the Indiana men had been brought together at the Tremont house, then the largest hotel in Chicago, he said to me: 'We are going to have Indiana for Old Abe, sure.' 'How did you get it?' 'By the Lord,' said he, 'we promised them everything they asked. We promised to see Smith put into the cabinet.' Now, that was true. Lincoln was the only one of the men ever nominated for the presidency who carried out all the promises made by his friends. He had at least five competitors for the presidency in the cabinet. He put in these—Cameron, Seward, Bates, Blair, Chase.

Mr. Medill stopped and said: "I can tell you a little story about that. When Lincoln's friends told him what they had promised he said: 'Well, gentlemen, where do I come in? You have given everything away, it seems to me.'"

"What was your next move to gain recruits for Lincoln?"

"Why, we captured Pennsylvania, with old Thad Stevens at their head. The Pennsylvania delegation was composed, I think, of fifty-six members, all wearing white hats, and they were the largest men in size and strength I have ever seen in any political convention. They came to Chicago and masked under the pretense of supporting Simon Cameron for president. The Lincoln men, such as Ray, Dubois, and Judge Davis, and Judd, Hatch, and Browning, went up among them and they had a tremendous time nearly all night to bring that delegation around solid for Lincoln. Lincoln had seen the importance of getting Pennsylvania. As he described it, he wanted that big Pennsylvania foot brought down upon the scale, and when it came the effect was that of a locomotive running on a platform scale, indeed. The size of the delegation, its situation in the great conservative center of the east, its going for Lincoln was the first token of alarm to the Sewardites.

"When Judge Davis came downstairs late at night or towards morning, I went up to him and asked him what Pennsylvania was going to do. The judge replied: 'Damned if we haven't got them.' 'How did you get them?' I asked him. 'By paying them their price,' he said. The next man who came along replied to my question: 'Pennsylvania is for Abe Lincoln.' Finally, I met Dr. Ray, and asked him how that had been brought about. 'Why,' said he, 'we promised to put Simon Cameron in the cabinet. They wanted assurances that we represented Lincoln, and that he would do what we said.' 'What have you agreed to give Cameron?' I asked. 'The treasury department.' 'Good heavens!' said I, 'give Cameron the treasury department? Why, what will be left?' 'O, what is the difference?' said Ray, 'we are after a bigger thing than that; we want the presidency, and the treasury department is not a great stake to pay for it.'" "I was at first disposed," said Mr. Medill, "to think that this was a monstrous giveaway, but when I sat down to think about it it seemed to me that, after all, Cameron had never been accused of dishonesty, and Lincoln fulfilled that pledge; that is to say, he put Cameron into the cabinet."

"Was it not, after all, the nomination of a pretty resolute Republican, Mr. Medill?"

"Why, yes, I am bound to say that, looking back over the life of Simon Cameron since he became a Republican, a third of a century ago, he has been a faithful party man, and, I believe, an honest public man. Under his

leadership Pennsylvania has been thoroughly reliable as a Republican state. After all, we might have done worse than to make great promises on behalf of Mr. Lincoln, and it was an evidence of his fidelity that he carried those promises out to the best of his ability. Now, you see, we had three solid states—Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. We only got Pennsylvania the day before the convention met, and in seating the delegates we carefully sandwiched Pennsylvania between Illinois and Indiana for safety. We feared the New Yorkers might tamper with our 'Quakers.' Thurlow Weed was a sly old fellow. In a little while we found that with this great though by no means controlling power of two states from the west and one from the east, more than 100 votes in all, there were promises coming to us on the second ballot from other places. Iowa sent us word that she had some votes for us after certain pledges had been fulfilled. Ohio, led chiefly by David Carter, brought us ten votes. Vermont presented the name of Collamer, but she came to us on the second ballot. New Hampshire helped us from the start. The result was that after we had balloted once the next ballot showed a great accession of scattering votes to Lincoln, and now the friends of Seward, who were far more confident than the friends of Mr. Blaine today, became thoroughly awake to the fact of danger."

"What attitude did Lincoln occupy running against Seward?"

"Why, he was not so advanced, so radical in his views. I had supported Winfield Scott as a Seward Whig in 1852, and that led me into the Republican party. He called me one of his young men, and I admired him, but I saw that he was too radical for the growth of the Republican party at that time. We had gone into the campaign of 1856 with Gen. Fremont, and, though we were beaten, had given the enemy a terrible scare, and we came out of that stronger than ever."

CONVENTION THAT NAMED LINCOLN

First National Gathering 60 Years
Ago in Chicago.

A DELEGATE STILL SURVIVES

HE IS ADDISON G. PROCTOR, OF
ANN ARBOR, MICH.

Slavery Issue an Important Feature
of That Republican Convention—
Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky
Contesting States, but the Conven-
tion Finally Decided to Admit the
Border States—Fred Upham Di-
recting Genius of Four Republi-
can Conventions.

By the Associated Press.

Chicago, May 15.—The convention of the Republicans in Chicago, June 6 to nominate a candidate for President recalls afresh at this time the Republican convention opening here 60 years ago which nominated Abraham Lincoln. This was the second national Republican convention and the first of the many which have since been held in Chicago.

The convention assembled on May 16, 1860, and Lincoln was nominated on May 19, the third and last day. After his election feeling aroused by the slavery issue ran quickly into civil war.

Relics of the campaign of 1860, including the oil painting of the "rail splitter," are preserved by the Chicago Historical Society. E. E. Wood, field secretary of the society, has just prepared what he regards as the most complete account of the events of the convention of 60 years ago. In this he calls attention to Addison G. Proctor, of Ann Arbor, Mich., who, Mr. Wood believes, is the only surviving delegate of the convention.

Chicago in 1860 was a promising city of 110,000, not quite 25 years old. It had won the convention by the offer to build the largest assembly hall in the country and fill it at every session. Accordingly the "Wigwam" arose at the southeast corner of Lake and Market streets, occupying a space 100 by 180 feet. It was a temporary wooden structure costing a little over the estimated \$5,000. The balance was made up by charging 25 cents admission on its formal opening the Saturday before the convention.

SPECTACULAR ENDING.

Few Republican conventions, if any, have been so charged with excitement or had so spectacular an ending. Lincoln's prospects appeared small enough before the convention opened. The favorite was William H. Seward, Senator from New York. He had a great asset in the ability of Thurlow Weed, who prosecuted his campaign among the delegates. He suffered a handicap in the determined opposition of Horace Greeley, the famous New York ed-

itor, who had no candidate of his own but refused to have Seward. Both Greeley and Weed were early on the ground and according to Mr. Wood's review, the centers of interest. He notes, however, that other, and non-political attractions, were numerous, among them being Zouaves, circus band, minstrels, and such well-known theatrical pieces of the day as "Lucretia Borgia" and "The Hidden Hand."

The slavery issue came up quickly on the first day of the convention, when David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, on taking the chair as temporary chairman made a 10-minute anti-slavery speech. "No extension of slavery" became an essential part of the platform next day.

MARYLAND A CONTESTANT.

In view of the many days now spent in hearing delegate contests, this convention of 60 years ago offered something novel. There were no contested delegates. There were, however, some "contesting" states. Whether to admit Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Texas was a question that occupied most of the first day and was still undecided when adjournment came for the day.

The next day the convention decided to admit the "border states." The platform committee then brought in its report. It was amended to include a reassertion of the "self-evident truths" of the Constitution. At adjournment little remained beyond choosing the candidate, and Mr. Wood characterizes that night as a tumultuous one filled with band music and processions until almost day. Enthusiasm for Seward, well worked up in his behalf, was at high tide. Greeley telegraphed his paper that Seward's nomination appeared certain. Incidentally, remarks Mr. Wood, this convention was the first at which the telegraph was employed.

How Lincoln came into the nomination is now for many a familiar story. Seward led on the first ballot 173½, with Lincoln next best at 102, and 233 necessary for choice. A few more votes came to Seward on the second ballot, bringing his total to 184½, while Lincoln jumped to close quarters with 181. The taking of the third ballot showed Lincoln going strongly to the front.

As the figures were being compiled, D. K. Cartter, of Cleveland, O., counting them up for himself, found that Lincoln needed only a few votes to win. The tabulation in fact at that moment was 231½ for Lincoln and 180 for Seward, with 233 necessary for the nomination. Instantly Cartter was on his feet to announce the transfer of four Ohio votes from Chase to Lincoln.

The convention quickly broke into a scene of enthusiasm with few parallels in the long list of American political conventions. Further votes were changed to bring Lincoln's total to 354. The nomination was then made unanimous.

The directing genius of four Republican conventions in the past, Fred W. Upham, Republican national treasurer, this year has planned his fifth and greatest one. Mr. Upham has been chairman of the Chicago convention committee for 16 years and in that time probably has promoted more national political gatherings than any man living. He has organized and financed the local arrangements for the Republican gatherings since 1904.

Every four years the planning of the big gathering has become a more complex and more costly affair. In 1904, the first year the Republicans met at the Chicago Coliseum, the convention arrangements cost \$70,000. In 1916 the expenses had increased to \$110,000, and this year the sum will exceed \$150,000.

To raise this money, contract for building alterations, extra seats, decorations, tickets, badges and all the other myriad details of staging a big quadrennial spectacle, in which more than 13,000 delegates and spectators will this year participate, is Upham's task.

Alterations to the Coliseum and decorating it will alone cost more than \$50,000 this year. The task of obtaining and then safeguarding the tickets is a problem in itself. The admission cards are printed on safety paper in special inks and then locked in vaults until the Thursday before the convention. None are sent by mail, all being distributed here. In spite of these precautions many fall into the hands of speculators, who retail them at anywhere from \$60 to \$100 each, and even counterfeiting of the cards is not unknown.

Mr. Upham, who has been treasurer of the national committee since February, 1918, has been associated with national politics for 28 years. In 1892 he was a delegate to the national convention from the Eighth Wisconsin district. He represented a Chicago district in 1912 and 1916 and ran on Governor Frank O. Lowden's slate for election as a delegate-at-large from Illinois this year.

He was Western treasurer of the national committee in the first Taft campaign in 1908 and again in the Hughes campaign of 1916. The only elective offices he has ever held were alderman in Chicago in 1896 and member of the Cooke County Board of Tax Review for 14 years. He is president of a large coal company.

Indiana at the Chicago Convention in 1860

BY JESSE W. WEIK.



IXTY-FOUR YEARS ago there was a decided commotion in the political firmament. The Missouri compromise had been repealed, Fremont had been defeated, John Brown had met his fate and abundant signs were gathering in the sky to indicate that the real test of the Union was not far away. Of the numerous political leaders who were breaking through the surface in the various parts of the country none was more modest and yet promising than Abraham Lincoln.

Although a resident of Illinois, his boyhood and early manhood had been spent in Indiana. Twice had he participated in political campaigns in that state. In 1844 he had crossed the Illinois line and journeyed to southern Indiana where, at the town of Gentryville and elsewhere in Spencer county, he upheld the banner of his idol, Henry Clay, and the Whig ticket generally. The next time he gave similar party service in the Hoosier state was in the fall of 1859. It was the year following his famous debate with Stephen A. Douglas.

On his way home from Ohio, where he had aided in the support of the Republican ticket in the Buckeye state, he stopped off at Indianapolis. Only limited mention of his visit is found in the newspapers of that early day, and in one or more instances his services in support of his party's ticket have almost entirely been overlooked by his biographers.

Account of Address.

In the Indianapolis Journal of Sept. 20, 1859, occurs this item: "Masonic hall was crowded last night to hear the champion of Republicanism in Illinois in his first effort in this city or state and it was an effort well worthy of his high reputation. A good portion of it was devoted to the perversion which Mr. Douglas has made of a sort of Democratic tenet of the idea expressed by himself and Mr. Seward in regard to the irreconcilable conflict between slavery and freedom and to the fallacy that the founders of the government intended to establish a balance between those elements."

"The conclusion was a very telling comment on Douglas's 'rule of three' which said Mr. Lincoln made a crocodile stand in the same relation to a negro that a negro does to a white man and consequently gave white men the same right to treat the negro as a reptile that the negro had to treat the crocodile as a reptile. Thus a great party in the country degraded the negro to the level of a brute and vauntingly repudiated the golden rule of Christianity, which the Saviour had to enforce. A more stinging exposure of a selfish, shameless bit of demagoguism we never heard. Though repeatedly requested to go on Mr. Lincoln declined, alleging his weariness from former speeches. On his retirement from the platform he was vociferously cheered. Mr. Morton was then called out and spoke very effectively for a few moments, but we have not space to notice his remarks further."

Campaign Comes On.

In another place the Journal says: "Hon. Abraham Lincoln, wife and son of Springfield, Ill.; Judge O. P. Morton of Centerville; Hon. Walter March of Muncie; Hon. Levi Ritter of Plainfield and a number of other Republican politicians were at the American House yesterday. Mr. Lincoln arrived in the city yesterday afternoon from Cincinnati where he had been campaigning. He leaves today at noon for his home in Springfield. He is a native of Kentucky, but removed with his father to Spencer county, Indiana when he was 8 years of age, where he spent his youth and early manhood. He is now in his fifty-second year."

The campaign of 1860 came on apace. In reality events developed with unwaited rapidity. Dec. 13, 1859, a meeting of citizens was held in the Court-house in Indianapolis to take measures to invite the Republican national committee to "select Indianapolis as an appropriate place in which to hold the Republican national convention." L. M. Vance, the chairman, and Theodore P. Haughey, the secretary of the meeting, were instructed to correspond with members of Congress and other prominent politicians from the state in Washington and New York to use their influence in favor of the selection of

Indianapolis for the national convention. The Republican state convention "to nominate candidates for state offices and appoint delegates to the national convention at Chicago, which in turn was to nominate the candidates for President and Vice President of the United States" was fixed for Feb. 22, 1860, the call being signed by M. C. Garber of Jefferson county, chairman of the Republican state committee.

State Candidates.

The nomination of candidates for state offices resulted as follows: Henry S. Lane of Montgomery county Governor; Oliver P. Morton, Wayne county, Lieutenant Governor; William A. Peele, Randolph county, secretary of state; Jonathan S. Harvey, Clark county, treasurer; Albert Lange, Vigo county, auditor; James G. Jones, Vanderburg county, attorney general; Benjamin Harrison, Marion county, reporter Supreme court; John P. Jones, Lagrange county, clerk Supreme court; Miles J. Fletcher, Putnam county, superintendent public instruction.

But not the least important of the duties of the state convention was the selection of delegates to the national convention scheduled to meet in Chicago in May to nominate the candidates for President and Vice President. By the apportionment then in vogue Indiana was entitled to twenty-six votes. The four delegates at large were: William T. Otto, New Albany; Daniel D. Pratt, Logansport; Caleb E. Smith, Indianapolis, and P. A. Hackleman, Rushville.

The district delegates were as follows: First district, James C. Veatch, Rockport, and C. M. Allen, Vincennes; Second district, Thomas C. Slaughter, Corydon, and J. H. Butler, Salem; Third district, John R. Cravens, Madison, and A. C. Vorhees, Bedford; Fourth district, George Holland, Brookville, and J. L. Yates, Versailles; Fifth district, Miles Murphy, Newcastle, and Walter March, Muncie; Sixth district, S. P. Oyler, Franklin, and John S. Bobbs, Indianapolis; Seventh district, George K. Steele, Rockville, and D. C. Donnohue, Greencastle; Eighth district, John Beard, Crawfordsville, and J. N. Sims, Frankfort; Ninth district, Charles H. Test, Mudge's Station, and D. H. Hopkins, Crown Point; Tenth district, George Moon, Warsaw, and George Emmerson, Angola; Eleventh district, William H. Connor, Noblesville, and John M. Wallace, Marion.

Mindful of Responsibility.

In view of the turmoil then bestirring the political cauldron, it may easily be concluded that the delegates from Indiana, above enumerated, appreciated and were duly mindful of the responsibility which rested upon them. In addition to them the convention appointed a state committee, in some respects a new thing in political organization, representing the various sections of the state. In the course of time they became so essential to party success that it would be wrong in any correct history of the state to omit their names.

M. C. Garber of Jefferson county was the chairman. The others were John W. Ray of Clark county, Thomas C. Slaughter of Harrison county, Alfred Hays of Scott county, John R. Cravens of Jefferson county, Isaac Rector of Lawrence county, Simeon Stansifer of Bartholo-

my, P. A. Hackleman of Rush county, Nelson Trusler of Fayette county, John S. Lyle of Wayne county, Thomas M. Browne of Randolph county, Benjamin Harrison of Marion county, Joseph Miller of Hendricks county, A. S. Griggs of Morgan county, Thomas H. Nelson of Vigo county, D. C. Donnohue of Putnam county, George K. Steele of Park county, H. Labaree of Montgomery county, G. O. Behm of Tippecanoe county, G. D. Wagner of Warren county, D. G. Rose of Laporte county, R. L. Milroy of Jasper county, M. L. DeMotte of Porter county, E. W. Metcalfe of Elkhart county, William Mitchell of Noble county, C. S. Parrish of Wabash county, James A. Stretch of Grant county and T. C. Phillips of Howard county.

Extracts From Press.

A few extracts from the press of the period will serve to indicate which way the wind was blowing in the Hoosier state. Early in November, 1859, the Indianapolis Journal gave space to a column article from the St. Louis Evening News setting forth the attitude of Edward Bates of Missouri, concluding with the pertinent observation: "We may fairly count Mr. Bates in the ring for the Republican nomination with a fair support and a good prospect."

In another place the Journal says editorially: "Mr. Bates has been considered by a number of the most ardent Republicans in the Union as the strongest candidate we could present for the presidency." Nov. 17, the Green-castle Banner hoists the name of Edward Bates for President, and J. M. Reed of Pennsylvania for Vice President. A day later the Shelbyville Banner urges Cameron of Pennsylvania for President, insisting that he would "carry more of the conservative element North and South and conserve more elements of strength than any other man."

Jan. 28, 1860, the Henry county convention recommended Oliver P. Morton for Governor, but was silent as to preference for President.

On the 30th the Marion county convention listened to a ringing speech by Caleb B. Smith, who obtained the passage of a resolution supporting O. P. Morton for Governor.

The following day Benjamin Harrison addressed the Republican Club at the Courthouse in Indianapolis, but refrained from committing himself as to the nominee for President.

Supports Bates.

The Fountain County Democrat rallies to the support of Bates for President and Cameron of Pennsylvania for Vice President. Feb. 7, John Vawter of Morgan county, in the Indianapolis Journal suggests Henry S. Lane for Vice President. Feb. 18, Warrick county indorses Bates for President and Lane for Governor.

Later Parke county at the convention in Rockville instructs for Bates for President and Lane for Governor. On the 20th, Jackson county supports Bates for President, Cameron for Vice President and Lane for Governor. Spencer county expresses a preference for Bates, whereas Pike and Sullivan each instruct for Bates, the last-named adding an indorsement of Lane for Governor.

Of course, it is difficult at this late day to reproduce very extensively the attitude of the local press in Indiana on the question of the probable nominee for President at the Chicago convention. Lincoln as well as Seward, Chase and Bates had many friends, but they were not very demonstrative.

John D. Defrees had for some time been publishing at Indianapolis a weekly paper called the Atlas which kept track of the campaign of 1860, but of course the Indianapolis Journal was the principal and most reliable agency in the moulding of public opinion. A few brief editorial extracts emanating from that source will not only be appropriate, but of great value to the student of history. It will serve to indicate the part Indiana played in the nomination of Lincoln.

Prejudices Cited.

On April 18, a month before the Chicago convention, the Journal said: "Against Mr. Seward and Mr. Chase there do exist certain prejudices, unreasonable, unjust, unfortunate, but very real. Neither of these men could carry the state and the causes that would defeat them here would defeat them in Illinois and Pennsylvania in our judgment. We are sorry it should be

so far of all men living, Mr. Seward is our choice for the presidency. But it is foolish to go right on and with wilfully closed eyes thrust our heads against big, immovable facts. It may be that we had better suffer defeat with him or Mr. Chase than achieve victory with McLean or Lincoln, but we can't see it. Defeat with them will leave the country powerless before slavery. This is certain. Victory with other Republicans would at least give us some power of resistance that we do not now have. We want to make the fight so that we can gain it. We don't believe in giving up everything to the enemy because we can't get all we want, for ourselves particularly, when, as in this case, we are really getting just as much with one man as another. Therefore we say Judge McLean presents a strong claim on the attention of the Republican convention.

"In the same class and next to Judge McLean we believe that Abraham Lincoln of Illinois presents the best combination of qualities as a candidate or officer. With either of these or with less certainty of success, with several other men, the Republicans can beat the Charleston nominee, whoever he may be or on whatever platform he may stand in this state. We know that Judge McLean is old, but he is vigorous and his temperate, regular life is a better assurance that he will fill his term than the dissipated vigor of younger men.

Elected If Nominated.

"If nominated we believe he will surely be elected and if elected he will make an administration that will give to these later days of the republic some idea of what the government used to be. The 'logic of events' shows that the successful man must be the representative of the general free labor sentiment of the country and not merely of some particular form of it."

But what the Hoosiers really thought of the situation as the Chicago convention neared is readily discerned in the newspapers of that period. Two days before the convention met the Chicago correspondent of the Indianapolis Journal, signing himself "S" and believed to be the late Berry Sulgrove, writing from the Richmond House said: "Outside of the movement for Mr. Seward it is hard to say what feeling is the strongest. Illinois is for Lincoln always and all the time. Indiana leans in the same direction. At a caucus of the delegates held this morning the expression in the main was for Lincoln. But our men are not 'hide-bound.' They will support any man who is sound and reliable and has a decent show of strength. There is a decided effort for Bates and I think it is stronger than anybody at home could have suspected. There is much said about McLean who is generally regarded as an entering wedge for a younger man in the same position, and Lincoln undoubtedly is the man so far as I have noticed."

Early in March the Journal published Seward's speech delivered a few days before in New York; a speech in Congress by Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania on "Free Homes and Free Men," an address by Bates to his friends and supporters in Missouri, and a speech by Morton at Terre Haute. Carl Schurz spoke in Indianapolis and Bowling Green and Cassius M. Clay held his hearers spellbound in Putnam county and elsewhere. Assuredly the political pot was boiling, and the Chicago convention was only a few days away!

[Another article on the 1860 convention by Mr. Welk will appear in next Sunday's Star.—Editor's note.]

Indiana at 1860 G.O.P. Convention in Chicago

[This is the second and last article written by Mr. Weik for The Sunday Star on the Republican national convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for President.—Editor's Note.]

BY JESSE W. WEIK.



Y own knowledge of the campaign of 1860 came to me early and from such dependable sources I could not question its accuracy or truth. Among the visitors who occasionally dropped in at the law office of Brown & Hanna at Greencastle, where I was a law student soon after my graduation from college in the early seventies, was the late Dillard C. Donnohue. Judge Donnohue—for thus was he called, although he had never held a judicial office higher than that of mayor of our city—was an unusually apt and engaging personality. I never listened to a better story-teller. His language was concise, meaty and free from redundancy. His memory was phenomenal. He had many of the attributes of the real historian. He never lost sight of the point of his story took the most direct route to reach it, clothing his recital in plain words and just enough of them to give proper and comprehensive expression of his ideas. Not very many so-called "good story-tellers" can do this.

Mr. Donnohue who was born at Paris, Bourbon county, Kentucky, Nov. 20, 1814, emigrated to Indiana in 1837, settling first in the village of Bainbridge, Putnam county. In Kentucky he had learned to card wool and he continued at the trade for some time after his removal to Indiana. Meanwhile he put in his evenings and spare moments studying law until he became proficient enough to venture on its practice. Early in the fifties, therefore, he removed to Greencastle, the county seat of Putnam county.

Took Early to Politics.

Like the average Kentuckian Mr. Donnohue early took to politics. An ardent Whig and uncompromising in his opposition to slavery, it was not long until he became more or less of a factor in the political contests of the day, and when the Republican party was formed he was one of the first to cast his lot with the new organization. One of his early friends was Cassius M. Clay, who occasionally appeared on the stump in Indiana, and some of the most vivid and entertaining things the writer ever listened to were descriptions by Donnohue of Clay in action. By the time the campaign of 1860 had rolled around Donnohue was among the prominent and influential party workers in the state—in other words he was a part of the "machine."

He always maintained that Indiana was one of the vital agencies responsible for the nomination of Lincoln at Chicago and a careful inquiry into the political developments of the period tends to confirm the truth of his deduction.

At that time a strong feeling in favor of Edward Bates of Missouri began to manifest itself in western Indiana. In Greencastle, for instance, there was evidence of a Bates machine under the control of the late John Hanna—who became United States district attorney at Indianapolis when Bates was made attorney general—supplemented by the efforts of Chris W. Brown, editor of the Greencastle Banner, and John Gilmore, a county officer and politician of local renown. These men conducted a bureau and through the columns of the newspapers and by means of literature sent through the mails created a decided feeling in their neighborhood and elsewhere for their favorite.

Represent Old Seventh.

Mr. Donnohue and George K. Steele of Rockville were the two delegates selected to represent the old Seventh district at the Chicago convention. It is doubtful if Donnohue himself considered Bates the most available man, although, apparently, he acquiesced and participated in the propaganda inaugurated at Greencastle. This is shown by a letter of his written soon after he reached Chicago. In it, after enumerating the strong points in the claims of Seward, Chase, Bates and other candidates, he

said prophetically, "Keep your eye on that man Lincoln from Illinois."

It appears that early in the spring of 1860 Mr. Steele had leisurely crossed the state line in Illinois and gone over to Springfield to see Lincoln. His visit to the Illinois candidate was very satisfactory and he came away greatly pleased with him, but Steele knew that a generous current of Bates sentiment was rapidly coming to the surface in his part of the country and he was reluctant to antagonize or appear to divert it. But meanwhile he had become so deeply imbued with Lincoln's genius and availability that he decided to confer with Henry S. Lane at Crawfordsville as to the advisability of joining in the support of the Illinois aspirant.

Mr. Lane a short time before—Feb. 22—had been nominated for Governor by the Republican state convention at Indianapolis, and although not himself a regularly chosen delegate to the convention would undoubtedly be there and an active participant. As the nominee for Governor, he naturally expected to be consulted when the Indiana delegation gathered to confer and agree upon a course of action. Already Steele, Donnohue and Lane, who lived in contiguous counties, were exchanging views, the result of which was an understanding that inasmuch as Bates and Lincoln were Western men, each supported by a generous following among the Republicans of Indiana, the judicious thing for the delegation from the Hoosier state would be to divide its vote between the two.

War Against Seward.

Meanwhile the hosts were gathering at Chicago. About the first move of the Indiana contingent was to inaugurate a vigorous warfare against Seward; for it was apparent that the latter was greatly in the lead and, unless serious inroads were made in his forces early in the convention, neither Bates nor Lincoln could hope to succeed. To that end a propaganda that Seward could not carry Indiana was decided upon. In time it proved to be a very efficacious weapon. A delegate from Massachusetts, Edward L. Pierce of Boston, the biographer of Charles Sumner, told me that when the Massachusetts delegation, on its way to Chicago, passed through Michigan City, Ind.—where the train made a fifteen or twenty-minute stop—

there seemed to be an organized crowd of Hoosiers at the station who surrounded every Chicago-bound train bearing delegates, declaring that Seward could not carry Indiana. They contended that, as Fremont lost Indiana in 1856, there was abundant reason to believe that if Seward were nominated, the state would be lost again. The argument was not without weight, for, according to Mr. Pierce, it was the means of inducing four of his colleagues on the Bay state delegation to desert Seward and swing to Lincoln on the first ballot.

But the most powerful and effective force at Chicago was the attitude and influence of Henry S. Lane, who was omnipresent among the delegates in the lobbies of the hotels, persisting in his assertion that Seward could not carry Indiana. He was alert and indefatigable. Finally, late in the evening of the

day before the balloting was scheduled to take place, he mounted a table in the lobby of the Tremont house and, swinging his cane in a dramatic flourish about his head, threatened to withdraw from the race for Governor of Indiana if Seward were nominated. Coming from such a source, the declaration was electric.

Decide for Lincoln.

Meanwhile, the Indiana delegation, realizing that its advanced stand had evoked the antagonism of the Seward forces, drew together, and, in order to make itself felt when the balloting should begin, decided to cast its undivided vote for Lincoln. When this fact became known it gave great impetus to the Lincoln movement, because, in the list of states, Indiana ranked fourth, even exceeding Illinois

by four votes on the final ballot. Another item of no little importance at this juncture was that Indiana was one of the four leading states—the other three being Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Illinois—which Fremont had failed to carry in 1856.

In recent years a letter has come to light, written by Lincoln before the Chicago convention, which represents the situation as it must have appeared to him. It is dated May 2, 1860—about two weeks before his nomination—and is addressed to Richard M. Corwine, a delegate from Ohio.

"After what you have said," writes Lincoln, "it is perhaps proper that I should post you as far as I am able as to the 'lay of the land.' First, I think the Illinois delegation will be unanimous for me at the start; and no other delegation will. A few individuals in other delegations would like to go for me at the start, but may be restrained by their colleagues. It is represented to me by men who ought to know that the whole of Indiana might not be difficult to get."

After commenting on his understanding of the attitude of the Ohio delegation he continues: "Everywhere, except here in Illinois and possibly in Indiana, one or another is preferred to me, but there is no positive objection. This is the ground as it now appears. I believe you personally know Mr. C. M. Allen of Vincennes, Ind. He is a delegate and has notified me that the entire Indiana delegation will be in Chicago the same day you come, Saturday, the 12. My friends Jesse K. Dubois, our auditor and Judge Davis, will probably be there ready to confer with friends from other states."

Meet in Chicago.

In a letter to Mr. Allen, written the day before Lincoln says: "Our friend Dubois and Judge Davis of Bloomington, or both, will meet you at Chicago on the 12th."

The sentence in Lincoln's letter to Mr. Corwine stating that the vote of Indiana "might not be difficult to get," in view of subsequent developments is fraught with more or less significance. During the convention Lincoln, himself, was in Springfield and David Davis, who, it is claimed, advanced the money necessary to maintain the requisite headquarters in Chicago, was the leading and responsible man in charge of Lincoln's interests. We can well understand, therefore, that all overtures or agreements intended to bind Mr. Lincoln either

emanated from or had the approval of Davis.

The editor of the Springfield Journal, Edward L. Baker, who reached Chicago the night before the nomination, carried with him a note from Mr. Lincoln to the Illinois delegates admonishing them not to make any promises, combinations or agreements because he—Lincoln—felt that he must not in any way be bound. If honored with the nomination it must come free from conditions.

Loud Laughter.

Baker related that when he read the note to the delegates and workers gathered at the Lincoln headquarters he was greeted with a burst of laughter. Davis was loudest of all, occasioned, probably, by his knowledge of the fact that a deal had already been made with the Pennsylvanians by which in return for their vote the Keystone state should have a place in Lincoln's cabinet, and Indiana for a similar consideration should fare likewise. No wonder Davis laughed when he thought of Lincoln's simple faith in believing that so great a prize as a nomination for the presidency could be gained without conditions or promises of any kind.

History records that Cameron profited early by the Pennsylvania deal, but there was more or less contention over the Cabinet plum for Indiana. Caleb Smith and Schuyler Colfax each wanted it. Among the last visitors at Lincoln's office before he left Springfield for Washington in February, 1861, was a group of Hoosiers, including the Rev. John L. Smith, Dr. O. L. Clark and Albert S. White, representative-elect, who came to press the claims of Caleb Smith, but they had hardly disappeared before another shadow crossed his threshold. It was William Cumback, bearing a final appeal for the recognition of Schuyler Colfax. Smith was awarded the place, and later, after Lincoln's inauguration, when some of Colfax's friends complained because he was not chosen instead, Lincoln wrote Colfax saying: "I had made up my mind in favor of Smith before your name was mentioned in that connection. When you were brought forward I said, 'Colfax is a young man, is already in position, is running a brilliant career and is sure of a bright future in any event; with Smith it is now or never.'"

Ohioans in National Republican Conventions

Editor's Note—This is the second in a series of articles by Charles A. Jones, secretary to the late Senator Frank B. Willis, dealing with the significant roles played by Ohio men in Republican national conventions. Last Sunday's installment, after reviewing the doings of a long list of illustrious Ohioans, chronicled the events leading up to the nomination of Abraham Lincoln in the famous Chicago Wigwam in 1860.

BY CHARLES A. JONES.

Part II.

NOMINATING speeches in those days (1860) were not the long drawn out affairs they have since become. Scarcely ten minutes was required for presentation of all the names. Thomas Corwin of Ohio presented "at the request of many gentlemen," the name of Judge John McLean of the United States Supreme Court. Columbus Delano, "on behalf of a portion of the delegation from Ohio" rose "to put in nomination the man who can split rails and maul Democrats—Abraham Lincoln." D. K. Cartter of Cleveland presented the name of Gov. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.

Then the convention voted. Ohio gave Lincoln 8 votes, McLean 4 and Chase 34. Chase had a total of 49 votes and McLean 12. Benjamin F. Wade received 3. On the second ballot Lincoln received 14 from Ohio, McLean 5 and Chase 29. Chase's total went down to 42½. The dramatic moment was approaching.

In the third ballot Ohio gave Chase 15, McLean 2 and Lincoln 29. As the roll was concluded Lincoln had with- in 1½ votes of enough. Murat Halstead, writing for the Cincinnati Commercial, tells the story best:

"The news went over the house wonderfully, and there was a pause. There are always men anxious to distinguish themselves on such occasions. I looked up to see who would be the man to give the decisive vote. In about ten ticks of a watch Cartter was up. I had imagined Ohio would be slippery enough for the crisis; and sure enough, every eye was on Cartter, and everybody who understood the matter at all knew what he was about to do. He has an impediment in his voice, which amounts to a stutter. He said: 'I rise (eh), Mr. Chairman (eh), to announce the change of four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln.'

"The deed was done. There was a moment's silence . . . there was a noise in the Wigwam like the rush of a great wind in the van of a storm; and in another breath the storm was there." Beebe, Cartter, Hassaurek of Cincinnati and Corwin were the four delegates whose votes had been changed.

Ohio supported Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for vice president with all 46 votes on both ballots.

The Baltimore Convention.

The convention of 1864, which met in Baltimore, was known as the "National Union Convention." Ohio's delegates-at-large were Gov. William Dennison, David Tod, Columbus Delano of Mount Vernon and G. Volney Dorsey of Columbus. New names made up the district delegate list. Other than locally, there is not a famous name in the list.

President Lincoln, of course, was the nominee and the state voted solidly for Andrew Johnson for vice president.

Ohio was strong for the program determined upon in advance to nominate Gen. Ulysses S. Grant for president at what was this time "The National Union Republican Convention," assembling in Chicago, May 20 and 21, 1868.

The state convention indorsed Grant, and with some less degree of unanimity, Ben Wade for vice president. It strongly denounced President Andrew Johnson. The delegates-at-large were Frederick Hassaurek, talented German-American orator and editor of Cincinnati; John C. Lee of Toledo, John A. Bingham of Harrison and James Scott of Warren. Thomas C. Jones of Delaware was chairman of the delegation; Orville C. Maxwell of Dayton, secretary; James Scott, committeeman on credentials; John C. Lee, committeeman on resolutions.

Grant received all the state's 42 votes. Chaplain McCabe of Athens was one of a trio that stirred the convention with a song especially written by George F. Root of Erie County on the theme, "We'll Fight It Out Here."

Mr. Hassaurek presented the name of Wade for vice president, emphasizing his reputation as "Honest Ben." Carl Schurz of Missouri, Rufus Spaulding of Ohio and Jones of North Carolina seconded it. But he did not secure the nomination. On the first ballot the Ohio delegates followed their resolution and voted solidly for Wade. On the second ballot four swung to Colfax of Indiana; on the third ballot, five, then six.

There was just enough desertion to break Wade's line. At the end, in seconding Gen. Daniel Sickles' motion that the nomination of Colfax be made unanimous, Chairman Jones of the Ohio delegation said: "Was there ever such a contest as this, in

which Ohio had the leading nag in the race, and nearly had the leading nag on the home stretch, and yet is denied the poor privilege of first congratulating the winner?"

At Philadelphia in 1872.

Four years later the "National Union Republican Convention" again met at Philadelphia, June 5 and 6, 1872. Ohio Republicans stood for the renomination of President Grant but desired former Gov. William Dennison for vice president.

Seconding the nomination of Grant, Ohio pledged him a 50,000 majority. Once again division appeared in the delegation regarding support of an Ohio candidate for vice president, and learning of this, Gov. Dennison peremptorily withdrew his name. It was not presented. Gov. Noyes spoke for Henry Wilson of Massachusetts and Mr. Bickham spoke for Mr. Colfax of Indiana. Wilson received 30 of the Ohio votes and Colfax 14.

At Cincinnati in 1876.

The word "union" was no longer a part of the party name as reported for the convention in 1876. The gathering at Cincinnati, June 14, 15 and 16, was simply a "Republican National Convention." Such simple things as danger of lighting new gas fixtures for an evening session, necessitating an overnight adjournment; a slight sun stroke suffered by James G. Blaine the Sunday preceding the convention and a rebuffed call of sympathy played in this convention master parts for destiny and helped to bring about the presiden-

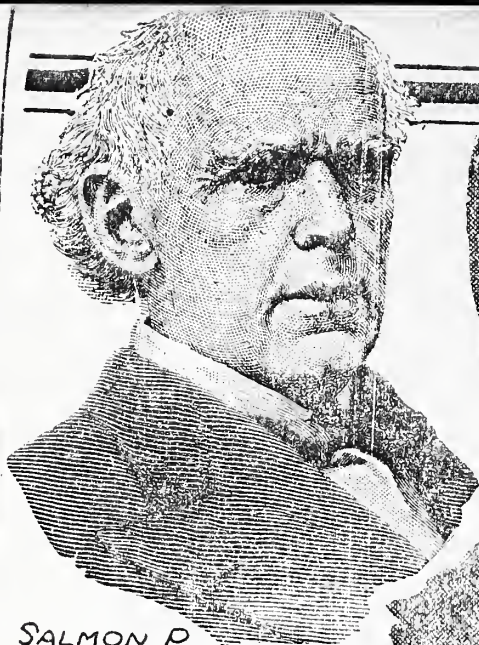
tial nomination of Ohio's governor, Rutherford B. Hayes.

The convention was also to put into force the vital and far-reaching rule that delegates could vote as individuals and not be bound by state unit rules.

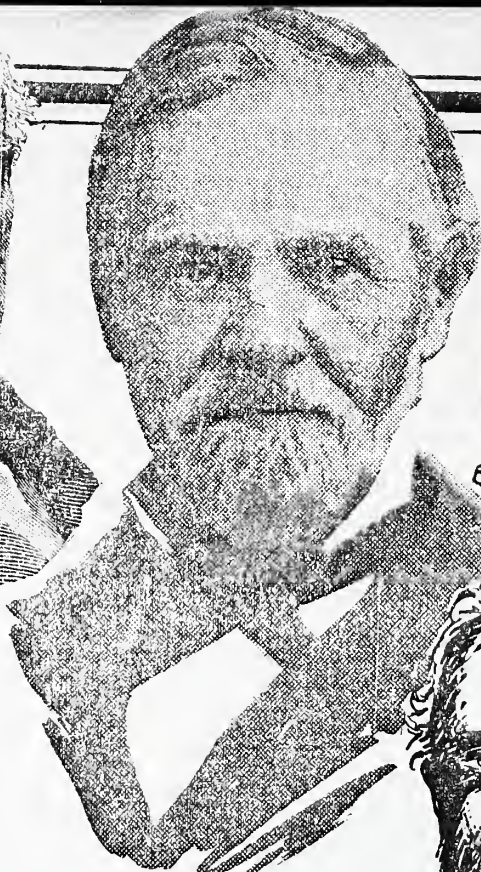
It is interesting to note that, upon this most important decision, affecting every convention thereafter, Ohio voted 30 to 14 for the unit rule.

Robert G. Ingersoll, in presenting the name of James G. Blaine, made his famous "Plumed Knight" speech, one of the most famous of the national convention addresses. The name of Gov. Hayes was presented by Gov. Noyes and seconded by Mr. Wade, Augustus St. Gem of Missouri and James W. Davis of West Virginia.

On the first ballot Hayes had but 61 votes, while Blaine had 235. After the sixth ballot, in which Hayes climbed to 113 votes, the anti-Blaine forces withdrew five candidates, with the result that the seventh ballot stood: Hayes 384, Blaine 351, Bristow of Kentucky 21.



**SALMON P.
CHASE**



JOHN SHERMAN



BENJAMIN F. WADE



WILLIAM E. DENNISON

Here are four Ohioans whose names are indelibly linked with the battles that raged in state and national Republican politics after the Civil War. John Sherman, brother of Gen. William T. Sherman, was born at Lancaster May 10, 1823. He was an orator, a financier, a United States senator, and secretary of state. He was nominated for president by James A. Garfield who was himself nominated in the same convention.

Salmon P. Chase was governor of Ohio from Jan. 14, 1856, to Jan. 9, 1860. He died in 1873 after having been a United States senator, secretary of

treasury and justice of the United States Supreme Court.

William Dennison was governor from Jan. 9, 1860, to Jan. 13, 1862. He died in 1882 after having been state senator and postmaster general and a participant in some of the hottest political conflicts that have ever shaken the Buckeye State.

Benjamin F. (Old Ben) also took a prominent part in Ohio's political rivalries. He was a

Garfield Stood Out in 1880.

James A. Garfield of Ohio was the outstanding figure of the turbulent seventh national convention, held in Chicago, June 2 to 8, 1880. Garfield, as newly elected senator from the state, went to the convention as leader of the forces favoring the nomination of John Sherman for president.

He was the outstanding leader against the third term proposal for Gen. Grant, and so was dramatically

before the convention first in opposition to the motion of the pompous Roscoe Conkling, by which all delegates would be bound to support the nominee, and soon after, as chairman of the committee on rules, presenting a resolution affirming the 1876 convention's action and eliminating the unit rule.

Garfield's conduct, in striking contrast to the sneers of Conkling, won him an affection in the convention seldom given any man. He arose to present Sherman's name after Conkling's great speech had provoked a storm of applause lasting 25 minutes, and his calmness and force soon made the convention forget Conkling's satire and invective.

The convention could not nominate Saturday night and adjourned on Sunday. Sherman received 93 votes. Ohio again added to her repu-

tation for uncertainty in Republican national conventions. Despite specific instructions for Sherman, nine Ohio delegates determined to vote for James G. Blaine and did so.

Sherman, in his memoirs, says this action and the resultant bitterness resulted in Blaine's failure to secure the nomination. He avers that neither he nor Blaine were able thereafter to swing their forces for either, as might easily have been done had not these nine Ohio delegates so acted.

Sherman thought it probable also that if Ohio had been solid for him he might have been nominated, and he never forgave these bolters. As it was, the distinguished Ohio senator received but 120 votes.

The swing to Garfield began to be evidenced on the 34th ballot, and Garfield arose to ask that votes not be cast for him. He was ruled out of order, and on the 36th ballot was nominated.

"I do not think I ever saw a man so overcome as was Garfield when it was announced that he was the nominee," says Senator Hoar in his autobiography. Ohio was jubilant. Senator Sherman, writing 25 years later, was not able quite to forget that the man who led his delegation received the honors he could not have.

Ohio's delegates-at-large in 1860 were William Dennison, James A.

Garfield, Charles Foster (governor) and Warner M. Bateman of Cincinnati. W. C. Cooper of Knox County was elected national committeeman.

Convention of 1884.

Three new names of great importance to the political history of Ohio come into the picture with the convention of 1884: Joseph B. Foraker, Marcus A. Hanna and William McKinley. Each was on the delegation for the first time. All three had been elected delegates-at-large by acclamation, and the fourth was William H. West, "blind man eloquent" of Bellefontaine. The alternates-at-large were all colored men.

The delegation split, 24 to 22, on an early vote over chairman. On the first ballot for president Ohio stood 21 for Blaine and 25 for Sherman. McKinley was for Blaine; Hanna stood with Foraker for Sherman. The latter, however, received but five votes from other states and his cause was known to be hopeless.

The second ballot showed Ohio 23 to 23; the third 25 for Blaine and 21 for Sherman; the fourth and last, all for Blaine.

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The third and concluding installment in this series will appear on this page next Sunday and will deal with Republican

INDIANA'S AID TO RISE OF LINCOLN NARRATED

Historians Hear of State Delegation in 1860 Convention.

PROFESSOR ROLL SPEAKS

Without the aid of Indiana, Abraham Lincoln might never have become the "Great Emancipator," Professor Charles Roll, of Indiana State Normal School at Terre Haute, asserted in an address on "Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Lincoln in 1860" Friday at the forty-third annual convention of the American Historical Association at the Claypool hotel.

Speaking at a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Association in the Palm room at the Claypool hotel, Professor Roll outlined the events of the Republican national convention at Chicago in 1860 in which Indiana, regarded then as a Democratic state, joined forces with Illinois in carrying Lincoln's nomination after three ballots.

"Only one other state, Illinois, cast its solid vote for Lincoln on the first ballot," he said. "After deciding to go for Lincoln, the Indiana delegates and other Indiana men present, espe-

cially Henry S. Lane, aided effectively in winning other delegates."

That Lincoln realized that Indiana's support in the convention and the election, which followed, was instrumental in his obtaining the presidency was brought out by Professor Roll in a letter written by Lincoln to Caleb B. Smith.

"I am indeed much grateful to Indiana," Lincoln wrote.

The career of another Republican of the same period was outlined by Wendell H. Stephenson, of Louisiana State University, in an address on "The Transitional Period in the Career of General James H. Lane." A native of Indiana, Lane emigrated to Kansas where he was largely responsible for that state's admission into the Union as a free state at a time when both the north and south were making bids for support of new states in the growing fight on the question of slavery, Stephenson said.

How Lane discarded the principles of the Democratic party and became a member of the Republican party and how he changed from a conservative to a radical for the times, was told by the speaker.

Lincoln in Iowa—The Chicago Convention

BY HARVEY INGHAM.

General Dodge has already voiced his surprise at finding only two delegates from Iowa for Lincoln in the Chicago convention of 1860. Professor Herriott of Drake in his story of "Iowa and Abraham Lincoln," says the Iowa delegates voted for six candidates on the first ballot—Bates of Missouri, Chase and McLean of Ohio, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Lincoln of Illinois and Seward of New York. On the final ballot Iowa voted for three candidates—Lincoln, Chase and Seward, but most of the votes were for Lincoln.

It must be remembered that the writers and reporters were chiefly from the east in 1860 and the east was intensely interested in Seward. The east moreover looked on the west as essentially unoccupied territory even as late as 1860, and anybody who will turn to the statistics of those days will discover that our western states did not size up very large. It was easy for so respected an authority as James Fort Rhodes to say, "Lincoln's adherents were men from Indiana, Illinois and Iowa who had come to Chicago bent on having a good time and while traces of organization might be detected among them, it was such organization as may be seen in a mob." It was easy for Rhodes to quote from Halstead: "I do not feel competent to state the precise proportions of those who are drunk and those who are sober. There are large numbers of both classes."

But one of the Iowans well known to the state, Jacob Rich of the Independence Guardian, wrote home to his newspaper from Chicago: "It is a matter of universal comment that if the whole country had been methodically picked over there could hardly have been produced a concourse containing the same amount of ability and respectability. Inside and outside the convention there seems to be less of boisterous enthusiasm than of earnest thoughtful action." Carl Schurz had the same impression: "The members of the convention and thousands of spectators assembled in the great wigwam presented a grand and inspiring sight. It was a free people met to consult upon their policy and to choose their chief."

The mere fact that William B. Allison, James F. Wilson, William P. Hepburn, Coker F. Clarkson and John A. Kasson were delegates from Iowa would be enough to suggest that the convention was representative, to say nothing of the visitors Professor Herriott lists. The mere fact that General Dodge had met Lincoln at Council Bluffs and was in Chicago to urge his nomination ought not be overlooked while nobody will minimize such names as these: James B. Weaver, James R. Howell, Hiram Price, John F. Dillon, Amos N. Currier, F. W. Palmer.

It was easy for eastern writers to say then as it has been since for the disappointed after every great convention to say that it was trading that did it. Albert Bushnell Hart hands down the story of the Chase discontents in his story of Salmon P. Chase in the American Statesman series: "Some delegates from Iowa were on the trading tack and in Indiana there was a floating and marketable vote." The mere fact that the Iowa delegates were scattered in the early balloting and finally centered on Lincoln would be enough to start that sort of rumor.

Professor Herriott after exposing the very limited information on which the historian bases this reference to "trading" brings it all down to J. W. Rankin of Keokuk and Dr. J. C. Walker, delegate at large, the former for Cameron until he saw his candidate had no chance and then for Lincoln, the latter from the opening of the convention for Lincoln from first to last. Judge Charles C. Nourse of Des Moines speaking in later years of the incident said: "Dr. Walker and Senator Rankin were both men of great ability and solid character with a fine sense of honor in public matters. Neither pettiness nor desire for private gain were moving motives with either."

Professor Herriott says "Alvin Saunders and Governor Kirkwood were perhaps Iowa's leaders in promoting Lincoln's candidacy, one or the other probably taking part in the 'committee of twelve' whose decision doubtless exercised a potent if not decisive influence on the final result." The sort of desperate fight they waged must be judged from the fact that Allison was for Chase and Kasson for Bates. Professor Macy, so long of Grinnell, said "Lincoln before the convention was unknown or he made little impression. Lincoln struck us as a surprise." Illinois did not put Lincoln up until six days before the convention, which is enough to show anybody experienced in convention politics how much he was regarded as a dark horse.

The Iowa delegates at large to the convention were W. Penn Clarke of Johnson county; L. C. Noble of Fayette; J. A. Kasson of Polk; H. O'Connor of Muscatine; James F. Wilson of Jefferson; J. W. Rankin of Lee; M. L. McPherson of Madison; C. F. Clarkson of Grundy; and N. J. Rusch of Scott.

The district delegates were: Alvin Saunders of Henry; J. C. Walker of Lee; H. Clay Caldwell of Van Buren; M. Baker of Wapello; Benjamin Rector of Fremont; George A. Hawley of Decatur; A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury; J. E. Blackford of Kossuth; Thomas Seeley of Guthrie; C. C. Nourse of Polk; W. M. Stone of Marion; J. B. Grinnell of Potosi; Wm. A. Warren of Jackson; John W. Thompson of Scott; John Shane of Benton; Wm. Smyth of Linn; Wm. B. Allison of Dubuque; A. F. Brown of Black Hawk; Reuben Noble of Clayton; E. G. Bowdoin of Floyd; Wm. P. Hepburn of Marshall; J. F. Brown of Hardin.

There were 31 delegates casting eight votes in the convention. On the last ballot these votes were Chase 1 vote, Lincoln 5 1/2 votes, Seward 2 votes.

It took the east a long while to get used to the Lincoln candidacy. If the issues had not been so sharp the west would not have won the presidency as it did.

Speaking of Lincoln - - - By Mary Gilbert Smith

IF Abraham Lincoln had lived till the Summer of '65," said Grandpa White, "he'd have spent it in Vermont, where Mrs. Lincoln and Tad spent the Summer of '64. Then some of our folks would have swapped stories with him. As it was, they had to depend on Vermonters who settled in Illinois in the 50's and came home to visit, or on the home folks who went out there to visit 'em.

"They all liked Lincoln. Vermonters naturally take to a man who's too smart to do his own braggin'; but that's not saying that any of 'em brought home the idea that he'd ever class with Washington. They did like to hear him tell stories though.

"Once when he was ridin' circuit the innkeeper asked him how he came to be a lawyer.

"Well," said Lincoln, 'did you ever hear about the man that sold the best coon dog in the world? The man who bought that dog took him home and went coon hunting with him three nights running. Then he brought the dog back to the man he'd bought him from and used language enough to set a mule driver up in business. He said a coon would stand a better chance of treeing that dog than the dog would of treeing a coon.

"You don't think anything is made in vain, do you?" asked the man who'd sold the dog.

"I guess not."

"Well, when I found that dog was good for nothing else, I knew he couldn't have been made in vain. So I thought he must be a good coon dog."

"On that principle," said Lincoln, 'I thought I might be a good lawyer.'

* * *

"It was the folks that heard Lincoln debate with Douglas, the Little Giant, that got the most excited about him. I'd give considerable to have heard one o' those debates. They lasted three hours, my Uncle John said—an hour for the first speaker, an hour and a half for the second one and then another half-hour for the first one. Both of 'em counted the time so precious that they asked folks not to interrupt 'em with applause.

"The difference between the two of 'em was that Douglas was sock-

sure and laid down the law. Lincoln wa'n't sure, and kept appealin' to his listeners to help him reason things out. It was that as much as the way Lincoln stuck right up for the Constitution that gave him the popular vote over Douglas for the Senate, for all that the state Legislature elected Douglas Senator.

"Lincoln had no idea of standing for the Presidency in 1860—said he wasn't a big enough man for it. Uncle John misdoubted he would ever have run if Mrs. Lincoln hadn't egged him on. The Democrats called him a rail-splitter, and Lincoln's backers went 'em one better by calling him The Rail-splitter and Giant-killer of Illinois! They cinched the title at Decatur by lugging in two old rails that Abe had split, years before.

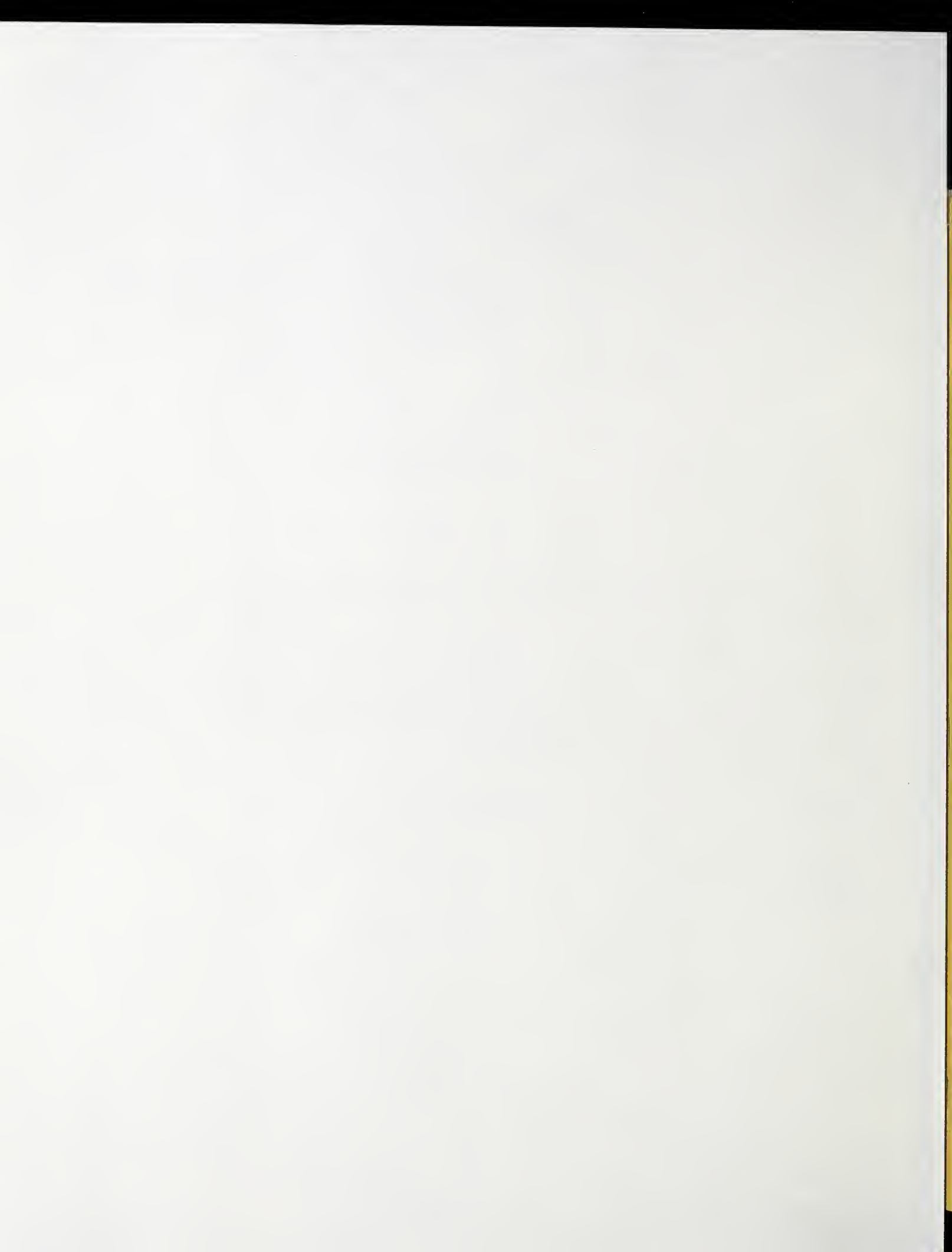
"Seward's men packed the Chicago Wigwam the second day o' the convention and would have got the nomination for him if the vote had been taken that night. But it wasn't taken and it was the Lincoln men who were the early birds next morning. They got their full share o' places and then left so many men outside that the cheerin' there made the inside o' the Wigwam seem quiet.

"On the first ballot Seward got 173½ votes to Lincoln's 102; on the second ballot 184½ to Lincoln's 181. So you may imagine the excitement, outside as well as in, when the third ballot showed 231½ for Lincoln—just a vote and a half short o' what he needed.

"There was a hush, deep as a pine grove just before a thunder storm, when Carter of Ohio got the floor to change four Ohio votes from Chase to Lincoln. Then everything broke loose. Hats and umbrellas, even coats and vests went sailing into the air, while the Lincoln delegates danced about and yelled themselves hoarse.

"Senator Evarts of New York, who had nominated Seward, was much disappointed over the way things went as Seward was. When he got up to make it unanimous for Lincoln, he showed his feelin's by saying: 'The name of William Henry Seward will be remembered when Presidents are forgotten.'

"No one claims Abe is a bigger man," one o' the Lincoln backers told him. 'We're for him because he can be elected.'



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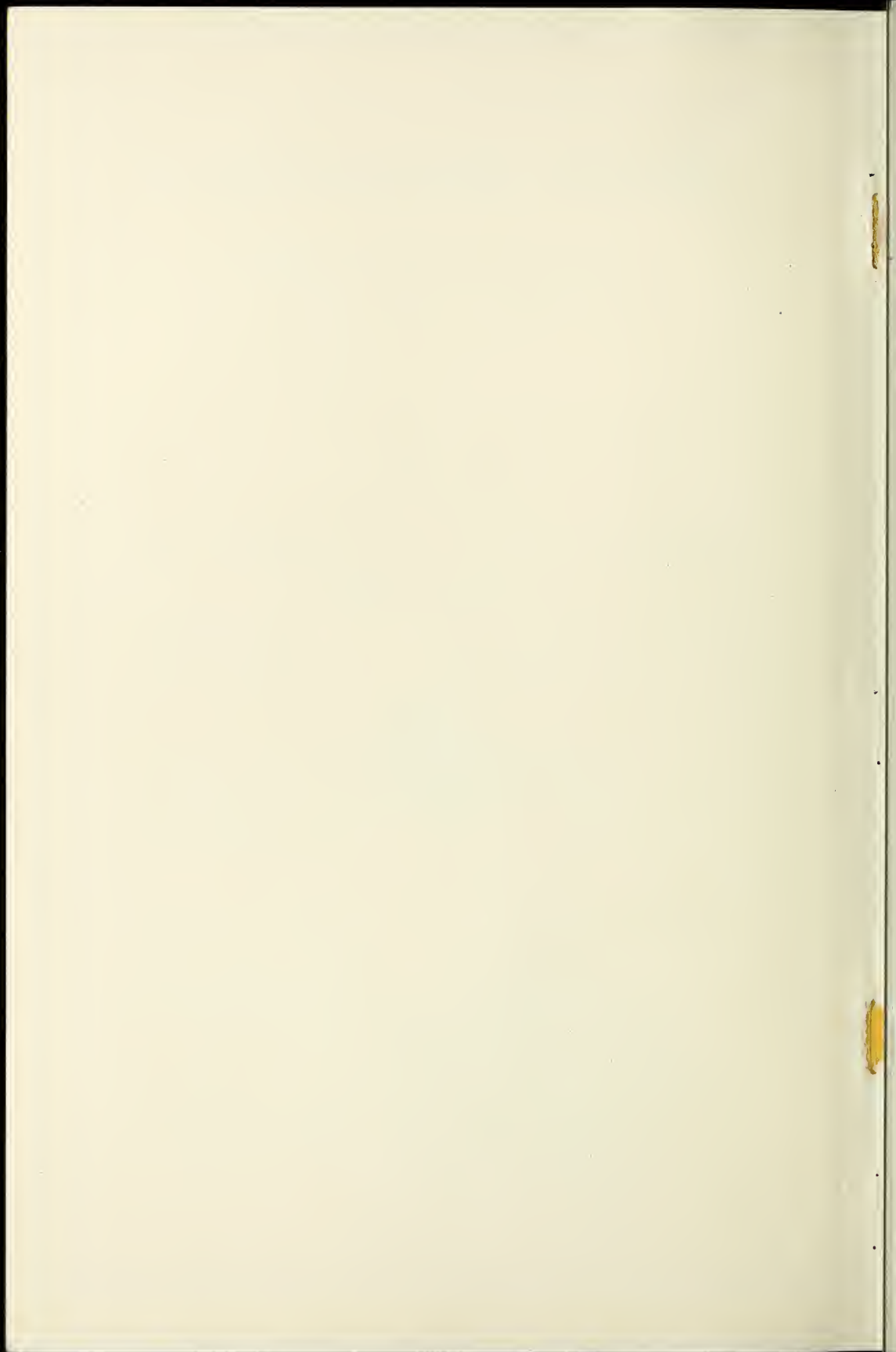
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MINSTREL SHOW. Cover design by *William A. Knox*.

(ii)

citizens who invited Thomas Hart Benton to be a guest at a public dinner at Fayette. No doubt other testimony might be found that reported similar activities but so far it remains hidden.

To base a satisfactory character sketch on Lowry's few published words and on his diverse, lively, yet circumscribed career presents far too many difficulties. As seen here he was always in front of an audience. We cannot pierce the orotund toasts to find the man; his political contributions are vague and epithetical and his political career open to criticism; his medical essays are unusual mainly in the sense that he wrote them, which is perhaps credit enough. He is almost invariably the toastmaster, the politician, the doctor, not the man. Yet even with this barrier and with few scraps of personal material one may penetrate behind the externals and venture some conjectures. He was ambitious and loved the limelight; he did not always realize that though it is important to push oneself forward it is fatal to impress people with that characteristic. Withal, his public spirit as assemblyman and doctor bears no denial. He was, I am convinced, greater than the mere sum of his historical remains. In this connection he points out an historian's moral.

Here is a man about whom almost our only authentic information is a series of references in a local newspaper hungry for news. He has no existence beyond the boundaries of his community or the immediate reaches of his personality. Yet, many "great" men have been assayed, their actions judged, and their influence estimated on evidence that of itself differs little, and not at all in essence, from the testimony on Doctor Lowry. To examine such a man then is excellent training in humility: the historian may explore where he will but he must be cautious in describing what lies beyond his own horizon.

ORGANIZING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE "BORDER-SLAVE" REGIONS: ED- WARD BATES'S PRESIDENTIAL CAN- DIDACY IN 1860

BY REINHARD H. LUTHIN¹

I tell you, sir, I am absolutely bewildered, men are acting so entirely contrary to the course of their whole past lives as to confound me.²

In these words a disheartened Missourian passed judgment on his state in 1860.

The historian may well sympathize with the Missourian in his inability to understand the progress of events. For during the latter 1850s public affairs in Missouri, as in other western "border-slave" regions, were extremely confused. Sectional interests of North, South, and West converged there to create a political whirlpool that resulted in kaleidoscopic changes of scene, alliances, and personalities. Slavery, abolition, internal improvements, proposed Pacific railways, currency, Know-Nothingism, and expansion were local as well as national problems. Leaders and parties could form only temporary alliances which might vanish the moment new issues appeared.³

Through all this complexity Judge Edward Bates maintained a consistent course of conservatism between extremes in support of all trends toward preservation of the Union and avoidance of sectionalism.

¹REINHARD H. LUTHIN, a native of New York city, received an A.B. degree from Columbia college in 1933 and a M.A. from Columbia university in 1934. He has completed all the scholastic requirements for a Ph.D. degree in history. Now a lecturer in history at Columbia university, he has been a frequent contributor to historical and literary journals and is the co-author with Harry J. Carman of *Lincoln and the Patronage*.

²Laughlin, Sceva B., "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (April 1929), pp. 415-416.

³There is much scholarly material on Missouri politics during the decade of the 1850s. See especially: Clarence H. McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*; P. Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, Chapters I-IV; George J. McHugh, *Political Nativism in St. Louis, 1840-1857*, (unpublished, M.A. thesis, St. Louis university.)

Born in Virginia in 1793, Bates had migrated to St. Louis as a young man. There he read law, entered politics as an ardent Whig, held several state offices, and served one term in Congress. Leadership, however, soon passed to those who spoke the frontier language of Jacksonian Democracy. Bates returned to the law, intermittently sitting on the Missouri bench.⁴ Subsequent efforts to induce him to re-enter public life were without avail, and in 1850 he declined President Millard Fillmore's proffer of a cabinet post.⁵ He disapproved of Stephen A. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854 because he thought it would disturb national tranquility and agitate sectional controversy.⁶ "Slavery is not the real question," he confided to his diary. "The question is only a struggle among politicians for sectional supremacy, and slavery is drawn into the contest only because it is a very exciting topic, a topic about which sensible men are more easily led to play the fool, than on any other subject."⁷

In 1856 Bates became alarmed by the "sectional" presidential candidacies of the Republican, John C. Frémont, and the Democrat, James Buchanan. Thus, as chairman of the last national Whig convention, he used his influence to secure the official Whig endorsement of the "American," Know Nothing, candidate for president, Fillmore. He did this primarily because he considered the American party, aside from its anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant doctrines, more national and less sectional than either of the two major parties.⁸

⁴There is no published biography of Bates. See, however, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates* by Floyd A. McNeil, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation. State University of Iowa, 1933); and *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* edited by Howard K. Beale in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1930, Vol. IV.

⁵*Millard Fillmore Papers*: Letter from Bates to Fillmore, August 1, 1850. (Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, New York.)

⁶McNeil, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates*, pp. 173-174.

⁷*Diary of Edward Bates, 1846-1852*, May 31, 1851. (Manuscript in possession of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

⁸*New York Herald*, September 18, 1856; Carman, Harry J., and Luthin, Reinhard H., "Some Aspects of the Know-Nothing Movement Reconsidered" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX (April 1940), pp. 228-231.

When the campaign of 1856 ended Bates and other Missouri Whigs were left without a party and forced to transfer their allegiance to "Americanism," Free Soil, or other lesser groups opposed to the dominant Democrats.

If the Whigs were near their end, the Democrats, too, were having their troubles. The Democracy of Missouri was split into two opposing factions. The intra-party conflict centered about currency, the Constitution, and state's rights, but essentially about the personality of United States Senator Thomas Hart Benton. In a way this schism was a local extension of the fight between two dead leaders, Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun. Benton had been Old Hickory's most distinguished supporter in Missouri. By 1851 Benton's opponents within the party sided with the Whigs to prevent his re-election to the Senate and to send a Whig senator to Washington. This defection of anti-Benton Democrats made the party rupture almost irreparable, especially since the opposing factions took different sides in the fierce dispute over the Compromise of 1850. Then Benton, shortly after elected to the lower house of Congress, widened the breach by opposing the Kansas-Nebraska bill because it was a sectional proposal. His concern for the Union kept him in arms against the pro-slavery elements in the Democratic party.⁹ His antipathy to anti-slavery radicalism made him equally distrusted by northern extremists; he opposed Frémont for president in 1856, although the latter was his son-in-law.¹⁰ When he died two years later Benton bequeathed to his followers the principle that the preservation of the Union was all-important and that extremism both north and south should be avoided—a principle, incidentally, which now inspired Bates and Benton's other Whig opponents.¹¹

The confusion in Missouri and the emptiness of party labels had been obvious in the recent campaign. Benton

⁹McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*; Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, Chapters I-IV.

¹⁰Nevins, Allan, *Frederick: The West's Greatest Adventurer*, Vol. II, pp. 504-505; Roosevelt, Theodore, *Thomas Hart Benton*, p. 354.

¹¹McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, p. 219.

indeed supported Buchanan the Democrat. But Benton's ablest lieutenant, Francis P., "Frank", Blair, Jr., aided the Republican, Frémont. And Bates the Whig sponsored Fillmore, the "American."

Nevertheless, it is possible to see some order in this political confusion. With the split in the Democratic party ever widening, there were three main contending groups in Missouri by 1858. First there were the conservatives: old Whigs, "Americans," and others anxious to suppress sectionalism and to preserve the Union. Bates was of this faction. Second there were the northern-minded Democrats with mild free-soil leanings, led by Frank Blair and his cousin, B. Gratz Brown, editor of the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat*. Third there were the southern-inclined Democrats championing slavery and state's rights. A fourth possible group, small in numbers, were the advanced anti-slavery men, represented mostly among the Germans in and around St. Louis.¹²

By 1859 Edward Bates was drifting from his adherence to the conservative group of Whigs and "Americans" toward the northern-minded insurgent Democrats. His hope was to form a "national" coalition of former Whigs, "Americans," northern Democrats and mild Free-Soilers which would defend the Union. This hope formed the background of Bates' presidential candidacy in 1860.

Bates' campaign for the White House received much of its motive power from Frank Blair, who had inherited the late Benton's mantle as leader of the anti-administration Democrats.¹³ Blair's ally was his talented cousin, B. Gratz Brown of the *Democrat*, an organ which Blair himself owned in part. In 1857 the *Democrat* had denounced President Buchanan's "pro-slavery" Kansas policy and advocated the colonization of emancipated Negroes in tropical America. The freed black man was a serious labor and disciplinary problem in Missouri; and the *Democrat's* attitude was:

¹²Ryle, Walter H., *Missouri: Union or Secession*, pp. 75-76, 75n.

¹³For the extensive political activities of the Blairs, see: William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics*.

"White men for Missouri and Missouri for white men."¹⁴ Late in 1858 the Blair-Brown organ announced the free-soil program for the next presidential election: "To-day the campaign of 1860 begins . . . Missouri belongs to her free white citizens—there is no room in it for slaves."¹⁵

In the following spring of 1859 Blair began organizing against the "administration" or Buchanan Democrats, with whom he and his ubiquitous family had long been at odds. Blair had forseen that the "Americans" were an ephemeral group with no promise of permanence and that nativism offered no strong issue against the Democrats.¹⁶ Besides, he believed in supremacy of "free" white labor and in Negro colonization as a solution to the race problem.¹⁷ Since his Jacksonian-Bentonian antecedents were strong, he was of opinion that the campaign against the administration Democrats in power must be waged on a mild anti-slavery basis and organized as the "Free Democracy." In 1859 Blair's Free Democracy, which became substantially the nucleus of the Republican party of Missouri, was concentrated mainly in and around St. Louis. Its largest element was the German-born population, who were dissatisfied with any truckling to slaveholders and angered with the regular Democrats' hostility to "free land." Other elements in the Free Democracy were advocates of Negro colonization, champions of internal improvements, and those who wanted a Pacific railroad built from St. Louis to California with government aid.¹⁸

In 1859 the "Opposition"—the term applied collectively to all groups opposed to the administration Democrats—was divided into at least three separate factions: the Free

¹⁴Tasher, Lucy L., *The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War*, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation. University of Chicago, 1934), pp. 1-19; Tasher, Lucy L., "The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (July 1937), pp. 402-403.

¹⁵Tasher, *The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War*, p. 23.

¹⁶*John H. Gundlack Collection*: Letter from R. P. Blair to James M. Stone, (no day listed), 1855. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

¹⁷*Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 44, pp. 293-298.

¹⁸*John F. Snyder Papers*: Letter of R. J. Robertson to Snyder, March 4, 1860, (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis); Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, p. 411, 419-422.

Democracy; the remnants of the American party, whose members knew not where to go following the decline of the nativistic issue; and the Old Line Whigs, who still refused to concede that the Whig party was dead. The "Americans" and the Old Line Whigs, in contrast to the Free Democracy, were ultra-conservative on the slavery question, believing with Bates that further agitation might end in dissolution of the Union.¹⁹

Blair and Brown believed that if the three Opposition elements—their Free Democracy, the "Americans," and the Old Line Whigs—could be united, a victorious fight could be waged against the Democrats in 1860. The one man who could bring these groups together in a successful presidential election was Edward Bates. One of Blair's motives was said to be desire to promote his own candidacy for governor.²⁰ Be that as it may, Blair approached Bates in April 1859.

Bates was quite willing to allow his name to be used in connection with the presidency. After his conference with Blair and Congressman Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, he wrote:²¹

The object of Messrs. Blair and Colfax no doubt was to have a confidential conference with me and a few of my known friends, so as to approximate the terms upon which the Republican party might adopt me as its candidate for the Presidency, and I and my friends might co-act with them, in federal politics, upon honorable relations.

Both these gentlemen are influential leaders of their party, and both declare that I am their first choice. They both say that Mr. Seward cannot get the nomination of his party, perhaps not because he is not the acknowledged head of the party and entitled to the lead, but because the party is not quite strong enough to triumph alone; and his nomination therefore would ensure defeat. Mr. Colfax is very anxious to consolidate the whole N. W. [Northwest] so as to ensure what he considers the main point for which, as he understands it, his party contends—i. e., that the U. S. shall not extend slavery into any country where they do not find it already established.

To that I have no objection.

¹⁹*Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), December 13, 1859.

²⁰*Charles Sumner Papers*: Letter of Edward L. Pierce to Sumner, April 18, 1859. (Widener library, Harvard university.)

²¹*Diary of Edward Bates*, p. 11.

Mr. C. is also a warm friend of Mr. Blair and is anxious to consolidate in Missouri, so as to put Mr. B. on a good footing with a majority in the State.

And, working for that end, Mr. Blair is eager to form a combination within the State, upon the precise question of slavery or no slavery in Missouri. This, undoubtedly, would be a good policy for Mr. Blair personally, because it would strengthen the local free soil party (of which he is the acknowledged local head) with all the forces that I and my friends could influence.

Finding Bates sympathetic toward his plans, Blair undertook to unite all forces of the Opposition behind Bates for president. The Old Line Whigs never quite trusted Blair who had been a Democrat but it was hoped that they would support Bates. The *Democrat* appealed to the Whigs to allow Henry Clay to lie in peace and take up Bates: "Let the bones of the 'Ashland martyr' be suffered to lie in the mausoleum Let the dead sleep. Edward Bates is a live man His opinions on the [slavery] question [are] identical with those of Clay."²² The *Democrat* emphasized:²³

We are fully alive to the policy, nay the duty, of rallying all the divisions of the Opposition against the profligate and imbecile rule of the National [Buchanan] Democracy.

The desired union can be effected by nominating a man for whom Republican, Whig, American, and honest Democrat will vote. Such a man, we believe, is Edward Bates.

A week after the dinner conference at Blair's home, there appeared in newspapers throughout the nation a letter written by Bates, in which he gave his views on national topics. "As to the negro question," he declared, "I have always thought, and often declared in speech and in print, that it is a pestilent question, the agitation of which has never done good to any party, section or class, and never can do good, unless it be accounted good to stir up the angry passions of men, and exasperate the unreasoning jealousy of sections." The slavery question, Bates continued, was a dangerous vortex into which good men are drawn unawares; he could attribute

²²*Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 2, 1859.

²³*Ibid.*, December 20, 1859.

slavery agitation pro or con to "no higher motive than personal ambition or sectional prejudice."²⁴ He charged the Buchanan administration with gross extravagance and denounced it for failure to provide internal improvements and a Pacific railway.²⁵

Bates' letter was essentially the platform of the older conservatives in the anti-Democratic camp who disapproved of making slavery a dominant issue and who wished to press other problems—corruption, extravagance, internal improvements, and a Pacific railroad. It was also the answer of elder statesmen who saw grave danger in the Republicans' sectional agitation.

In the "border-slave" states Bates hoped to attract what was termed the "Opposition"—a conglomeration of Old Line Whigs, "Americans," dissatisfied Democrats, and conservatives in general; their only common aims were hostility to the Democrats in both local and national affairs and a demand for a cessation of the "eternal wrangling and spouting of abolitionism." It was soon proposed that the Opposition might be united with the more conciliatory Republicans of the North to form a national conservative party opposed to abolitionists in the North and to pro-slavery extremists in the South.²⁶ The hope for such a grand coalition was expressed by Bates himself.²⁷ In August 1859, he sent word to an Opposition convention in Memphis:²⁸

It pleases me very much, gentlemen, to find that you designate the band of patriots who have lately done the good work in Tennessee as the Opposition Party. The name implies that the party is made of the good men of other parties—Democrats, Whigs, Americans, Republicans—all who can no longer brook the wild extravagances and wanton disregard of principle.

²⁴*Daily Advertiser* (Boston), April 18, 1859.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Cole, Arthur C., *The Whig Party in the South*, pp. 327-336; Boucher, Chauncey S., "In Re That Aggressive Slavocracy" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (June-September 1921), p. 69.

²⁷*Diary of Edward Bates*, pp. 29-30.

²⁸*Daily Missouri Democrat*, August 30, 1859.

Without such a union, he pointed out, success could never be achieved against the Democrats. Slavery he did not mention.²⁹

These views met the full approval of Blair and Brown, who now portrayed the Republicans as the conservative, Union-saving party, since the Democrats had sectionalized the nation by propagating slavery.³⁰ They disparaged violent anti-slavery doctrines and condemned John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid.³¹ They persisted in believing that gradual emancipation of the slaves and their colonization in tropical America constituted the only solution to the race problem. Instead of pressing the slavery issue Blair and Brown demanded concessions for the West, homestead legislation, a Pacific railroad, internal improvements and an adequate overland mail.

In the summer of 1859 Blair and Brown began organizing their Free Democratic forces in St. Louis—sometimes they were referred to as "Republicans"—for a "clean" ticket in the forthcoming municipal elections. The preliminary work was done in the office of the *Democrat*. Editorially the paper emphasized that the county election was tied up with the presidential battle of 1860, and with Bates's candidacy in particular. "This is the last election we shall have in the City or County, previous to the nomination of an Opposition candidate for the Presidency, except the election for Councilmen next spring," the *Democrat* declared editorially. "Every legitimate effort and many liberal concessions should be mutually made on this occasion, to combine the Opposition for subsequent action." It further added: "The probabilities are that a citizen of St. Louis will be the competitor of the nominee of the Charleston [Democratic National] Convention for the highest office in the gift of the people, and as the success of the Opposition here would contribute to the success of that gentleman before the Republican Convention, firm accord should if possible be established

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*, July 12, 1859.

³¹*Ibid.*, October 20, 1859.

at the ensuing election, between the Free Democracy and the disbanded Whigs and Americans."³²

The plans of Blair and Brown, however, were doomed to failure. The Old Line Whigs and "Americans" wanted no part of the Free Democrats, whom they considered "Black" Republicans. They invited only "conservative elements" to their "Whig" state convention at Jefferson City in February 1860.³³ One Whig leader directed: "Repudiate the action of any State Convention of which F. P. Blair, Jr. should be a member."³⁴ The *Democrat* lamented:³⁵

The Free Democracy and Republicans of Missouri . . . differ—and widely differ—from the Whigs and Americans on the slavery question . . . We regret, deeply regret that the Whigs and Americans of the State are not wedded to the ennobling cause of Free Labor; we regret that they cannot be persuaded into co-operation with us in the election of delegates to the National Convention.

The Whigs and "Americans," in their state convention at Jefferson City on February 29, 1860, endorsed Bates for president; after all, he was one of them. Discord arose, however, when the conclave debated whether to send delegates to the Republican national convention at Chicago in May or to the "Constitutional Union," conservative Whig and "American," national convention at Baltimore in the same month. No decision was reached. Furthermore, the platform adopted, although essentially conservative, was too radical for certain Old Line Whigs and "Americans" who, despite their endorsement of the Blair-sponsored Bates for president, met later and formed a state central committee preparatory to sending delegates to the Constitutional Union convention. Indeed, many of the Whigs and "Americans" were by now looking upon Bates with suspicion.³⁶ In this they were justified, for Bates, perceiving the expedi-

³²*Ibid.*, July 18, 1859.

³³*Ibid.*, October 21, 1859.

³⁴*James O. Broadhead Papers*: Letter from Broadhead to W. Newland [copy], December 6, 1859. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

³⁵*Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 13, 1859.

³⁶*Sol Smith Papers*: Letter of W. F. Switzler to Smith, March 5, 1860. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.); Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 417-418; *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), March 9, 11, 1860.

ency of drawing closer to the Republicans, was straying farther away from his old Whig moorings.³⁷

The inability of the Jefferson City convention to agree on whether to send delegates to Chicago or to Baltimore left Frank Blair, Brown, and the rest of the St. Louis *Democrat* junta no other alternative than to meet in a Republican state convention to select pro-Bates delegates to Chicago. This they did on March 10 in St. Louis, the only center of Republicanism in slaveholding Missouri. Then and there the fireworks started—precipitated this time not by Whigs or “Americans,” but by the Germans.³⁸

For years the German immigrants, who had trekked westward to till the soil, had agitated for free land. When the Democrats consistently refused to hear their pleas for “free land,” when the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed and the Republican party was launched, the Germans, fearful lest the extension of Negro slavery and the southern landed aristocracy would close the West to settlement by free whites, flocked to the Republican ranks.³⁹ By 1860 the Germans were the dominant foreign-born element in Missouri and constituted the largest single element in the state Republican party.⁴⁰ For years Blair had carefully cultivated them.⁴¹ The result was that, as one Missouri historian has concluded, “the Republican vote was composed mostly of Germans, a few anti-slavery men from New England states or of New England origin, and the personal following of Francis P. Blair, Jr., Edward Bates, and B. Gratz Brown.”⁴²

³⁷*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 20, 1860. Letter of Bates to Messrs. Gwyer, Levy, and Seaman, January 3, 1860.

³⁸*Ibid.*, March 11, 1860.

³⁹Trexler, Harrison A., *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865*, p. 165; Stephenson, George M., *The Political History of the Public Lands From 1840 to 1862*, pp. 113, 175-177, 221, 225; Holst, Herman E. von, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 429n; Herriott, F. I., “Stephen A. Douglas and the Germans in 1854” in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 17 (1912), pp. 144-156.

⁴⁰*Eighth Census of the United States: Population, 1860*, pp. 300, 301; Laughlin, “Missouri Politics During the Civil War” in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 411, 420-422.

⁴¹Ryle, *Missouri: Union or Secession*, p. 111.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 166.

In early 1860, however, the German⁴³ groups were in a rebellious mood. The revival of Know-Nothingism in various regions of the country in 1859 had aroused them, and their hostility toward the former "Americans" within the Republican party reached a feverish pitch. They now opposed the nomination of Bates for president because he had supported Fillmore on the "American" ticket in 1856 and because he was favorable to the enforcement of the fugitive slave law.⁴³

On March 10 the Republican convention, called by Blair and his associates to select Missouri delegates to Chicago, met in St. Louis. Brown, as "Chairman, Republican Central Committee," called the convention to order. Resolutions were read, demanding colonization of the freed Negroes, homestead, a Pacific railroad by the central route, "equal rights of citizens of all nationalities," and opposing any change in the then liberal naturalization laws. One resolution endorsed Bates as Missouri's choice for president.

All the resolutions were satisfactory to the Germans except the one about Bates. Their resistance to this nearly upset the convention. When a delegate moved that the resolutions be adopted as a whole, one Pinner, editor of a Kansas City German-language paper, objected to the pro-Bates clause. Carl Daenzer, editor of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, came to Pinner's aid. Confusion followed despite cries of "Order!" from Chairman Brown. Pinner finally secured the floor, and offered the substitute resolution "*Resolved*, That the delegates of the Republican party of Missouri have no preferred candidate for President of the United States, and that our delegates to Chicago shall not cast their votes for any candidate who does not stand fairly and square upon the Philadelphia [National Republican] platform of 1856." This, of course, would eliminate Bates. Pinner roared above the disorder: "Mr. Bates has not

⁴³Nathaniel P. Banks Papers: Letter from H. Kreisman to Banks, April 21, 1859; Letter from C. H. Ray to Banks, April 2, 1859. (Essex institute, Salem, Massachusetts); Edward Bates Papers: Letter from E. R. Harlan, February 7, 1908. (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.); Herriott, F. I., "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860" in Downer, Harry E., *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 839-846.

declared himself upon the Republican platform, and his views upon the measures advocated by the Republicans are not definitely known." Amid hisses and deliberate coughs Pinner shouted that the gathering was not assembled to "hold a Whig or Know-Nothing Convention." Cries of "Dry up!" were hurled at the speaker. Pinner's efforts proved of no avail, and the resolution endorsing Bates was approved, whereupon a number of Germans marched out of the hall. Daenzer remained, and told the Convention that he was confident that "the Chicago Convention would nominate a candidate that will not suit the Old Line Whigs and Know-Nothings." When Daenzer was asked if he would support Bates if he were nominated, he replied with an emphatic "No." Bates was endorsed, but it was obvious that the Teutonic groups were hostile to his candidacy.⁴⁴ It was estimated that the Missouri delegation to Chicago, among whom were Blair and Brown, stood twelve for Bates and six against him.⁴⁵

Although the Germans did not block a Missouri endorsement of Bates, their opposition compelled him to commit himself compromisingly on the issues of the day. Shortly after the Republican state convention a committee composed of Dr. Charles L. Bernays, editor of the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, and nine other Republican leaders sent Bates an open letter asking him to answer specific questions.

To the first question, "Are you opposed to the extension of slavery?" Bates answered that he had no new opinions on the subject, but he added that "within the States it exists by local law, and the Federal Government has no control over it there The National Government has the power to permit or forbid slavery within [the Territories] I am opposed to the extension of slavery." To the second question, "Does the Constitution carry slavery into the Territories?" Bates said: "I answer no." Another question, aimed at pacifying the German vote, related to equality of rights of natives and foreign-born. Bates rejoined: "I recognize no distinction among Americans. There is no

⁴⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 11, 1860.

⁴⁵*Detroit Free Press*, March 13, 1860.

difference between the citizens born and made such by law." Still another query related to the admission of Kansas territory as a state. Bates replied: "I think that Kansas ought to be admitted without delay, leaving her like all other states, the sole judge of her own constitution."⁴⁶

Bates' letter, designed to conciliate the Germans and other advanced Republicans all through the North, did not help a bit; indeed, it weakened him considerably because it made him unacceptable to many conservative Whigs and "Americans."⁴⁷ One Missouri "American" leader stated that Bates, by his acceptance of the Republican doctrine of Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories, had made himself obnoxious to "the great body of the forty-five thousand Whigs and Americans in this state."⁴⁸ In other slaveholding border states, too, Bates became *persona non grata* to great bodies of Old Line Whigs and "Americans." In Kentucky the influential *Louisville Journal* commented:⁴⁹

He has deliberately and formally subscribed to every article in the Republican creed. He is opposed to the extension of slavery and in his opinion the spirit and policy of the government ought to be against its extension. This covers the whole Republican ground. It settles the position of Mr. Bates decisively. He is just as good or bad a Republican as Seward, Chase or Lincoln is. As such, of course, the Constitutional Union [conservative Whig and "American"] men of the South will scorn to touch him. He has by a single blow severed every tie of confidence or sympathy which connected him with the Southern Conservatives.

This unfavorable reaction to the Bates letter blasted Blair's and Brown's plans for a united "Opposition" that would support Bates for the presidency. The net result of their efforts was that they had offended large groups of conservative Whigs and "Americans" without winning the Germans and other radical Republicans to their cause.

⁴⁶*Daily Evening News* (St. Louis), March 21, 1860. This paper prints Bates' letter.

⁴⁷*Diary of Edward Bates*, pp. 111-114; Ryle, *Missouri: Union or Secession* pp. 133-134.

⁴⁸Laughlin, "Missouri Politics During the Civil War" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, p. 419.

⁴⁹*Daily Journal* (Indianapolis), March 24, 1860. Extract from the *Louisville Journal*.

But it was natural that the Blair-Brown-Bates plan of union crumbled. The radicalism of the early Republican movement, no matter how Blair might portray the Republicanism of 1860 as the essence of conservatism, could not so suddenly be effaced. The sweeping condemnations of southern slave society and economy by Republican extremists such as Owen Lovejoy, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, and Charles Sumner had made an indelible impression. Many people North and South identified Republicanism with these men, not with such moderates as Edward Bates and Frank Blair. And to southerners the words "Republican" and "Abolitionist" remained synonymous.⁵⁰

While Frank Blair and B. Gratz Brown were laboring for Bates in the western "border-slave" localities, others of the Blair family were boosting Bates in the eastern "border-slave" regions, particularly in Maryland.

Maryland, with commercial as well as agricultural interests, was a traditional Whig state.⁵¹ Conservative and nationally minded, it had maintained a consistent opposition alike to both secession and abolition. When the Whig party collapsed in 1854-55 most Marylanders gave their support to the new American party which, in addition to combatting German and Irish influences, also opposed sectionalism and preached the necessity of muffling the slavery question. In 1856 Maryland voted for Fillmore for president and proclaimed itself a sturdy conservative stronghold between two sectional forces. In this same year a newly organized Republican party attempted to hold a meeting in Baltimore; only thirty or forty persons were present, but a mob howled outside the hall and finally broke up the meeting. In 1857 Maryland, although its governor was Democratic, had a Know-Nothing, Whig-trained legislature and by 1858 Baltimore was completely under the nativists' rule.⁵²

⁵⁰Scrugham, Mary, *The Peaceable Americans of 1860-1861*, pp. 14-15; Sellers, James L., "The Make-Up of the Early Republican Party" in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 37 (1930), pp. 50-51.

⁵¹Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, pp. 2-4, 44, 62, 133.

⁵²Schmeckeiber, Laurence F., *History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland*, pp. 37, 69; McConville, Mary St. Patrick, *Political Nativism in Maryland*, pp. 116, 121-124.

During 1859 Henry Winter Davis, Know-Nothing candidate for re-election to Congress, conceived of a union of the "Americans" and Republicans for 1860 with Edward Bates as standard-bearer.⁵³ In January 1860, the *Baltimore Patriot*, favorable to Davis' plan of union against the Democrats,⁵⁴ declared for Bates for president.⁵⁵ Ironically enough, the Republican movement, started from conservative nativist origins, soon attracted the radical, anti-slavery Germans.⁵⁶

Republican leadership in Maryland, however, went not to the "American" Davis nor to the German chieftains, but to Frank Blair's father and brother, Francis P. Blair, Sr., and Montgomery Blair. The two Maryland Blairs believed that if the South were assured that the Republicans did not advocate white and Negro equality, many southern states would support them! The Blairs therefore advocated solving the slavery question by colonizing Negroes in tropical America as fast as their masters would emancipate them. In 1859 Montgomery Blair wrote another Republican leader:⁵⁷

Colonization . . . would do more than ten thousand speeches to define accurately our objects and disabuse the minds of the great body of the Southern people of the issue South that the Republicans wish to set negroes free among them to be their equals and consequently their rulers when they are numerous. This is the only point needing elucidation and comprehension by the Southern people to make us as strong at the South as at the North. If we can commit our party distinctly to this I will undertake for Maryland in 1860.

On the basis of this program the Blairs hoped to have slaveholding Maryland represented in the Republican na-

⁵³*Justin S. Morrill Papers*: Letter from Davis to Morrill, August 20, 1859. (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

⁵⁴*Clipper* (Baltimore), March 13, 1860; April 5, 1860. Reprint from *Baltimore Patriot*.

⁵⁵*Republican* (Springfield, Mass.), January 9, 1860. Reprint from the *Baltimore Patriot*.

⁵⁶*Stephen A. Douglas Papers*: Letter from York to Douglas, June 30, 1860. (University of Chicago library, Chicago, Illinois.); Hennighausen, L. P., "Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore During 1850-1860" in the *Seventh Annual Report of the Society of the Germans in Maryland, 1892-1893*, pp. 53-59.

⁵⁷*Studies in Southern History and Politics*: Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning, p. 10. Extract of a letter from Montgomery Blair to James R. Doolittle.

tional convention at Chicago. The Republican party of Maryland, wrote a Blair follower, was "a concealed one, its sentiments felt by those who hold them as sentiments not safely or wisely to be avowed."⁵⁸ In late April the Blairs called a Republican state convention at Baltimore. Amidst the threats of the crowds outside the convention hall, delegates to Chicago were chosen, among them the elder Blair. A resolution was adopted recommending that the delegation vote for president as a unit and a typical Blair plank advocating Negro colonization was approved. Essentially a Blair project, this sparsely attended Republican convention assured Maryland votes for Bates at Chicago.⁵⁹

In neighboring Delaware, another slave state, the situation was somewhat similar to that in Maryland. Here a conservative, Whig-minded, anti-Democratic sentiment organized into the "People's party,"⁶⁰ which was willing to accept Bates and send delegates to the Republican national convention. This point of view was given expression in the Wilmington *Delaware Republican*.⁶¹ The People's party drew much support from Delaware manufacturing interests who were dissatisfied with the low-tariff policies of the Democrats and wanted protection for their industries. In short, the Opposition in Delaware was primarily an anti-Democratic, Unionist and protectionist movement.⁶²

The *Delaware Republican* insisted that the Republican party was not radical, and that border-state conservatives should endorse Edward Bates: "The great opposition [Republican] party which has carried every northern and nearly every western state cannot have anything very objectionable in its platform . . . Why could we not support Judge Bates or some other conservative man standing on a

⁵⁸Francis P. Blair Papers: Letter from William L. Marshall to Montgomery Blair, May 30, 1860. (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

⁵⁹Andrews, Matthew P., *History of Maryland: Providence and State*, p. 505; *Sun* (Baltimore), April 27, 1860.

⁶⁰Conrad, Henry C., *History of the State of Delaware*, Vol. I, pp. 194-195.

⁶¹*Delaware Republican* (Wilmington), February-May, 1860.

⁶²Powell, Walter A., *A History of Delaware*, p. 238; *Press & Tribune* (Chicago), February 3, 1860. Reprint from the Milford, Delaware, *News and Advertiser*; *Daily Telegraph* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), August 8, 1859. Reprint from the *Pentinsula News: North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), July 1, 1858.

conciliatory platform, with a clause in it providing for the protection of the industry of our country?"⁶³ In February 1860 this paper placed Bates' name for president on its editorial masthead⁶⁴ insisting that no third party to combat the Democrats was practicable, and that the People's party should send delegates to Chicago because the invitation to that coming monster Republican gathering there "embraces all the opponents of the present corrupt administration as well as all Republicans."⁶⁵

The *Delaware Republican* accordingly sponsored a People's party state convention to be held at Dover May 1.⁶⁶ "There is no Republican organization in this state, and there is no intention to form one," the *Republican* explained, "The voters who are in favor of holding the convention at Dover . . . intend to act with the People's party, particularly in the nomination of candidates, and to use their best and most earnest efforts to defeat the Loco [Democratic] forces."⁶⁷ The all-important aim was to defeat the Democrats.⁶⁸

The People's party convention met as planned at Dover. The main speaker was the veteran Whig, "Tom" Corwin of Ohio, who, after serving in the senate and in Fillmore's cabinet, emerged from retirement in 1858 to recuperate his lost political fortunes. An old Whig by temperament and convictions, he nurtured ideas of transforming the Republicans into a great conservative party such as the Whigs had been. He was still devoted to the traditional Whig theme of the tariff, and he proved a source of embarrassment to the radical Republicans. But he was an asset in a conservative, tariff-minded territory such as Delaware, for he could gloss over the repulsive features of *bona fide* Republicanism.⁶⁹ Corwin gave a spellbinding speech, advocating a high tariff

⁶³*Delaware Republican*, January 30, 1860.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, February 27, 1860.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, February 6, 1860.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, April 26, 30, 1860.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, April 19, 1860.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹*William Schouler Papers*: Letter from Thomas Corwin to Schouler, April 28, 1860. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.); Roseboom, Eugene H., *Ohio in the 1850's*, (unpublished, Ph. D. dissertation. Harvard university, 1932), pp. 387-388, 387n, 407n.

and explaining that conservative Republicans should not be considered abolitionists just because abolitionists voted with Republicans. The convention at Dover appointed pro-Bates delegates, headed by one Nathaniel B. Smithers, and adopted resolutions which took the anti-slavery sting from Republicanism by advocating a protective tariff and a homestead bill, and charging the Buchanan administration with sectionalism because it had reopened the slavery controversy.⁷⁰ Bates was assured of Delaware support at Chicago.⁷¹

The two Maryland Blairs, in their search for Bates delegates, also operated in Kentucky, another "border-slave" state.

Kentucky had been a citadel of Whiggery—the bailiwick of Henry Clay.⁷² But now Harry of the West had passed to his reward, the Whig party was prostrate—yet the state remained conservative and Union-minded; in 1856 its electoral vote had been given to Buchanan because he was considered less sectional than Fremont. In this same year of 1856 an embryo Republican party had appeared in Kentucky led by Henry Clay's tempestuous and fearless cousin, Cassius M. Clay. This Republican movement was strongest in the southern end of Madison county—just at the border between the "blue grass" region and the mountains, where economic conditions were unfavorable to the slave-plantation system.⁷³ For years a crusader in the anti-slavery cause, Cassius M. Clay believed that a system based on Negro bondage was one of waste and impoverishment for the majority of white men. Thus he had thrown in his lot with the Republicans.⁷⁴

By the "rotten borough" system Clay had a comparatively large following among Kentucky Republicans. "So,"

⁷⁰*Delaware Republican*, May 3, 1860.

⁷¹Smithers, William T., "Memoir of Nathaniel B. Smithers" in *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, Vol. XXIII (1899), pp. 24-25.

⁷²Coulter, E. Merton, "The Downfall of the Whig Party in Kentucky" in *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, No. 67 (January 1925), p. 162.

⁷³Robertson, James R., "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (June 1917), p. 55.

⁷⁴Ritchie, William, *The Public Career of Cassius M. Clay*, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1934.), p. 91; Wilson, Henry, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. II, p. 511.

he wrote, "I was much courted by the aspirants for the presidency." It was not surprising that Francis P. Blair, Sr., and Montgomery Blair should approach Clay regarding support for Bates. Later Clay wrote:⁷⁵

The Blairs were for Edward Bates, a respectable old Whig of Missouri. They invited me to their residence at Silver Springs, in Maryland; and without ceremony, said, if I would go for Bates, I should be made Secretary of War . . . But I knew nothing of Bates' principles; and I frankly declined to support him. For this I lost favor with the Blairs.

There was ample reason why Clay was not interested in supporting Bates: at this very time he was planning to present himself as a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.⁷⁶

Despite Bates' inability to conciliate the conservative Whigs and "Americans," the Germans, and the more radical Republicans, he loomed as William H. Seward's most formidable rival for the presidential nomination on the eve of the Republican national convention. Horace Greeley placed his widely-circulated New York *Tribune* behind his candidacy.⁷⁷ Moreover, the Missourian attracted strong support in the more conservative counties of Indiana, where Congressman Colfax and the Indianapolis editor-politician, John D. Defrees, worked valiantly for him.⁷⁸

The Republicans assembled in national convention at Chicago on May 16, 1860. The Bates men were early on the scene. Frank Blair and his Missouri delegation rented rooms in the Tremont House, which became Bates head-

⁷⁵*The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay: Memoirs, Writings, and Speeches*, Vol. I, pp. 244-246.

⁷⁶*Charles Sumner Papers*: Letter of C. M. Clay to Sumner, March 3, 1860; "The 1860 Presidential Campaign: Letters of Cassius M. Clay to Cephas Brainerd" in *The Moorsfield Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 2 (August 1937), pp. 105-106.

⁷⁷*Greeley-Colfax Papers*: Letter from Horace Greeley to Schuyler Colfax, February 28, 1860. (New York public library, New York.); *Tribune* (New York), February 20, 1860.

⁷⁸*Daniel D. Pratt Papers*: Letter from P. A. Hackleman to Pratt, March 26, 1860. (Indiana State library, Indianapolis.); Hollister, Ovando J., *Life of Schuyler Colfax*, p. 148; Brand, Carl F., "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana" in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (September 1922), pp. 300-301; *Daily Journal* (Indianapolis), February 23, 1860.

quarters. His father and Greeley were the lions there about whom crowds gathered.⁷⁹ They circulated an address, signed by Frank Blair, Greeley, Defrees and others, outlining their candidate's virtues. To the more conservative Republicans they contended that the nomination of Bates would refute the charges of sectionalism levelled at the party and rebuke alike northern abolitionists and southern "fire-eaters;" to the more radical Republicans they insisted that the selection of Bates as standard-bearer would dissolve the Constitutional Union party, which had named Senator John Bell of Tennessee for president the week previous.⁸⁰

Bates had followers in the pivotal Pennsylvania delegation because of his conservatism and high-tariff views.⁸¹ Frank Blair invaded the joint caucus of the Pennsylvania and Indiana delegations. One of Abraham Lincoln's managers at Chicago, the German-born former Lieutenant Governor Gustave Koerner of Illinois, related the progress of events at this juncture:⁸²

The Bates men, having learned of this meeting, appeared there in force, and [Frank] Blair had already commenced making a speech for Bates when word was sent to our [Lincoln] headquarters of what was going on. Browning and myself were immediately dispatched to counteract the movement. I heard the last part of Blair's speech. He was followed by Fred Muench, who promised the vote of Missouri for Bates, and Judge Krekel closed in a rather able speech for Bates.

I now asked leave to speak for Lincoln. The court house was crowded with many other delegates and with citizens of Chicago. The moment I named Lincoln the cheers almost shook the court house. I controverted the idea that Bates could carry Missouri, said that outside of St. Louis and a few German settlements represented by Krekel and Muench no Republican could get a vote; that the State was for Douglas . . . that I was astonished that my German friends from Missouri talked of supporting Bates, who in 1856 had presided over a Whig National Convention at Baltimore, which had nominated Fillmore and Donelson, after they had been nominated by the Know Nothings; that Bates in the municipal elections of St. Louis had several times supported the Know Nothing ticket; that I would tell this meeting in all candor that if Bates was

⁷⁹Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 475-476.

⁸⁰*Daily Advertiser* (Boston), May 15, 1860.

⁸¹Pitkin, Thomas M., *The Tariff and the Early Republican Party*, (unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation. Western Reserve university, 1935.), p. 199.

⁸²*Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1866*, Vol. II, pp. 88-89.

nominated, the German Republicans in the other States would never vote for him; I for one would not, and I would advise my countrymen to the same effect.

Koerner was shrewd in emphasizing the Germans' hostility to Bates. Because of the Missourian's connection with the "Americans" the German leaders had agitated against Bates's selection as standard-bearer. They had even called a "Conference of the German Republican Clubs" at Chicago May 14-15, the eve of the national convention. The conclave assembled on May 14 at a fraternal center, the Deutsches Haus, and drew up resolutions cautioning the national convention not to nominate any candidate with a nativist record.⁸³ As has been seen, the Germans' opposition to Bates had been manifest at the state Republican convention in St. Louis on March 10.⁸⁴ This had made a profound impression on Republican leaders even in the East. "You have doubtless seen that at the Missouri Convention there was a German demonstration against Bates," a New York Republican chieftain had written a prominent Pennsylvania party man, "It is indicative of German feeling everywhere, and inasmuch as we depend upon them to carry the western states if we are to carry them at all, it seems to me that it ought to be conclusive in respect to his nomination."⁸⁵ And Koerner argued: "Bates . . . would drive off . . . the radical or I should rather say the German element."⁸⁶ Lincoln's managers used all this to good advantage.⁸⁷ Soon Indiana, where Bates had followers, forsook him as a presidential possibility.⁸⁸ Bates was totally *persona non grata* to the numerous Teutonic groups of the Republican party.

⁸³Herriott, F. I., "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860" in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 35 (1928), pp. 141-189; *Press* (Philadelphia), May 15, 1860.

⁸⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 11, 1860; *Detroit Free Press*, March 13, 1860.

⁸⁵*Henry C. Carey Papers*: Letter from E. Peshine Smith to Carey, March 14, 1860. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.)

⁸⁶*Lyman Trumbull Papers*: Letter from Koerner to Trumbull, April 16, 1860. (Library of Congress.).

⁸⁷*Press & Tribune*, March 15, 1860.

⁸⁸*Lyman Trumbull Papers*: Letter from John G. Stephenson to Trumbull, March 23, 1860; *Daily Journal* (Indianapolis), May 16, 1860; *Press*, May 15, 1860.

On at least two other counts, besides German hostility, was Bates "unavailable" as a presidential contender. First, his conservatism and age were frowned upon by the more radical Republicans; and second, he could not carry his own state of Missouri, which was considered certain to go Democratic in November.⁸⁹ An Iowa leader declared flippantly of Bates: "I will not go into the cemetery or catacomb;"⁹⁰ and "I don't know why we should go into the state of Missouri for a President. As to carrying that, or any other slave state, it is folly to think of it."⁹¹ Still another handicap to Bates's cause at Chicago was the nomination of John Bell by the Constitutional Unionists the week previous. Bell's candidacy meant that tens of thousands of Whigs, "Americans," and other anti-Democratic conservatives would vote for Bell rather than Bates.⁹² The Republicans accordingly dropped Bates from consideration. Abraham Lincoln was named as standard-bearer.⁹³

In the campaign that followed it was recognized that Lincoln could not be elected by radical Republican votes alone. "We cannot elect a man on anti-slavery ground exclusively," one Republican leader had acknowledged long since, "We must carry the American or conservative element in the middle states."⁹⁴ In persuading the moderates Bates proved of distinct aid to Lincoln. He wrote a public letter, appealing to Old Line Whigs and "Americans." He declared: "I consider Mr. Lincoln a sound and safe man. He could not be sectional if he tried."⁹⁵ The Republican national committee sent appropriate speakers and literature to the various regions. Bates, although declining to take the stump, continued to write letters appealing for Lincoln's

⁸⁹*Lyman Trumbull Papers*: Letter from George A. Nourse to Trumbull, May 13, 1860; *Charles Sumner Papers*: Letter from Edward L. Pierce to Sumner, April 20, 1860.

⁹⁰Pike, James S., *First Blows of the Civil War*, p. 484.

⁹¹*Elihu B. Washburne Papers*: Letter from Fitz Henry Warren to Washburne, February 6, 1860. (Library of Congress.)

⁹²Halstead, Murat, *Caucuses of 1860*, pp. 16ff.

⁹³*Republican* (Springfield, Mass.), May 23, 1860.

⁹⁴*Nathaniel P. Banks Papers*: Letter from H. Kreisman to Banks, April 2, 1859.

⁹⁵McNeil, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates*, p. 213.

election, which were circulated in the more conservative counties of the free states bordering on the slave states. Here they were beneficial to the Lincoln cause.⁹⁶

Lincoln, in forming his cabinet, chose Bates as his attorney general. After almost four years of service as the nation's chief law officer, however, the hectic current of Washington in war time had moved too swiftly for his conservative nature. In November 1864 Bates was happy to resign the justice portfolio and retire to his Missouri home.⁹⁷

In all, the Bates movement in Missouri during 1859-1860 constituted a curious episode. It represented a futile attempt to conservatize the Republican party and combine it with the nationally-minded Whigs and "Americans" in North and South in a common program of opposition to the Democrats for the campaign of 1860. But it failed primarily because Bates was too tainted with Know-Nothingism to suit the Germans, too conservative to be acceptable to the radical Republicans, and too closely linked to Frank Blair's Free Democracy to please the Old Line Whigs. If the Blairs and their associates had succeeded in their plans and Edward Bates had become president, the history of the United States might well have been startlingly different.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁹⁷*Dairy of Edward Bates*, p. 428.

MISSOURI AT WEST POINT

HER GRADUATES THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR YEARS

BY GEORGE T. NESS, JR.¹

A number of the young men of Missouri who are in arms today, graduates of the United States military academy, are following in the footsteps of those of older times who marched to honor and fame from the historic palisades of Old West Point.

By the time the bombs bursting over Fort Sumter in the spring of 1861 were sounding the knell for the hope of a peaceful settlement of the many problems that vexed the Union, twenty-three native born sons of Missouri had been graduated from the academy. One of these had attained the rank of colonel, six were captains, seven, first lieutenants, while eight were second lieutenants or serving as such. The remaining man held the now discarded rank of ensign.

The State's first graduate was Pascal Vincent Bouis. He entered as a cadet on July 17, 1804, and was commissioned second lieutenant in the regiment of artillerists on March 6, 1806, fifteen years before Missouri was admitted to the Union. Bouis remained in the army for but two years, resigning in 1808 to become a planter near Pointe Coupee, Louisiana, where he died in 1811, at the age of 27 years.

Auguste Chouteau graduated in the same year with Bouis and was commissioned ensign in the second infantry. After a year's service he too resigned and for thirty years engaged in trade with the Indians. Due to his experience, no doubt, he was appointed United States commissioner to the Comanches in 1837, but died the next year at the Saline, near Fort Gibson in the Indian territory.

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...nt Bouis.
...as commissioned



Nominated Lincoln
and Looked Into Iowa

THE ANNALS OF IOWA

An Historical Quarterly

ESTABLISHED 1863

Third Series

Vol. XXVI, No. 1

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PUBLISHED BY THE
Iowa State Department of History
and Archives
DES MOINES, IOWA

The Iowa State Department of History and Archives

An institution of the State of Iowa, located at the seat of government, established as a department of the State in 1892, and administered by a Curator elected by a Board of Trustees composed of the Governor of the State, a Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It consists of the following divisions:

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ANNALS OF IOWA

DES MOINES

ORA WILLIAMS, Editor

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COLLEGE STUDENT AND SOLDIER BOY

BY ORA WILLIAMS

The little blank book lying on the desk is not very attractive. It is the kind schoolboys used a century ago, with board covers and thin ruled paper, nice for a diary or a secretary's record. This one was used for both. There is writing in it, plain and quite varied as to topics. There is a date on the title page—October 14, 1859. The place Anamosa, Iowa. The book was to be a record of the "Constitution and By-laws of the Excelsior Debating Club" and of the club's activities for about one year. Then the secretary of the club started off to college at Mt. Vernon, Iowa. After another year an important entry was made, followed by a much later one in the writing of the same man. These two entries tell a big story. They are:

Anamosa, Iowa, Oct. 12th, 1861. President Lincoln calls for 300,000 men. I enlisted today in Union army for 3 years. Later—I am 2nd corporal of Co. H, 14th Iowa Vols; Wm. T. Shaw of Anamosa, colonel. CHARLES W. HADLEY.

Later, June 1st, 1923, Ogden, Utah. Still on earth a little the worse for wear, but no fault to find. CHAS. W. HADLEY.

That covers sixty-two years of one life. The story of the years can be filled in by anyone. Doubtless it was typical. Certainly it was eventful and useful. Probably, also, the best part of it was covered in this brief story found in the Roster of Iowa Soldiers, Vol. 2, in connection with the personnel of the 14th Iowa Infantry:

CHARLES W. HADLEY, Age 18. Residence, Anamosa, nativity, New Hampshire. Enlisted Oct. 12, 1861 as Fifth corporal. Mustered Nov. 6, 1861. Missing in action April 6, 1862, Shiloh, Tenn. Discharged for disability March 23, 1863 at St. Louis, Mo. Re-entered service Oct. 12, 1864. Mustered out Nov. 16, 1864 at Davenport, Iowa.

At the age of eighty and far beyond, Corporal Hadley recalled the hurried assemblage of Iowa boys of his home county of Jones, the crowding into a steamboat at Daven-

port less than four weeks after enlistment, the little drilling and maneuvering for six weeks at Benton Barracks, thence in the middle of winter via the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Tennessee and on to Fort Donelson; then the conflict with the Confederates of which Colonel Shaw reported, "I have never seen men behave themselves better, whether under fire or bearing with patience and fortitude the fatigue and hardships necessarily incident to so long an engagement in such weather." Then followed the march south and the battles of Pittsburgh Landing and Shiloh, and the capture of Colonel Shaw and a part of his regiment; later the service at Vicksburg and in western Missouri. The service covered a little more than three years. The praise extended by Col. Wm. T. Shaw came from one well qualified to speak, for he had been a volunteer private in the Mexican war.

AT THE THRESHOLD OF LIFE

Now let us see what if anything this little note book and diary of a college boy reveals as to what was in his heart at the threshold of life. The Excelsior Debating club was much like thousands of others of the time. The first report of a debate was dated Oct. 21, 1859. The question was, "Resolved, that the United States should extend her limits." The boy Hadley did not get in on this discussion of internationalism or imperialism or whatever it should be called. A week later it was, "Resolved, that woman should have the same rights and privileges as man." Hadley was on the affirmative and records that the negative won. Some time later it was "Resolved, that the principles of the No-nothing party were correct." Here one should go to the encyclopedia and read up on the "Know-nothing party" and its principles. Hadley was on the affirmative and they won. Other topics of discussion were that "fashion has been the cause of more evil than good," that "the pulpit has exerted a greater influence than the press," and that "the works of art are more pleasing to the eye than those of nature."

Then in December the club had before them this highly controversial question, "Resolved, that the motives by which John Brown was actuated were right." Hadley was on the team for the affirmative, but records that the decision was against him. He was evidently disposed to an independent course. For a boy of fifteen he was getting started at doing his own thinking. There must have been some warm feelings aroused at this debate. Four members who had been assigned to the debate, backed out and were fined for so doing. They then raised the fines from ten cents to twenty cents. And it "has never met since" is the last entry about the club.

Through this little book, now converted into a personal record, we follow young Hadley in September of 1860 from Anamosa to Mt. Vernon "riding half a day through mud." His father accompanied him and saw him located in a room in the home of a Mr. Spangler back of the hotel at \$2.25 a week for board and room. He found at Cornell college that there are "two societies in operation" and there were six teachers. One of his first entries was: "The Republican club met last night and being chosen to make a speech did so and was appointed to help draft a constitution and by-laws."

In the Excelsior club, Hadley had put himself in training for participation in current politics. He was to follow this line to a conclusion. Very soon he records that he was elected "to membership in the Amphiction Society, which I was glad to hear, although it takes another dollar out of my pocket." Some of the students went to Iowa City to the fair, but he did not go. He saved his money and bought a flute. He reports that on Oct. 5 he "will attend the Amphiction Society this evening for the first time and tomorrow night the Lincoln and Hamlin club." Later he records having helped prepare the papers for the latter club. He was not neglecting his grammar, his algebra and his Latin and German; but in the midst of such a political campaign it was natural to expect college students to discuss politics.

Before the close of his third week at college he was

deep in politics. "Douglas, I understand, is to speak at Cedar Rapids and also at Anamosa in evening." He heard a good speech by Milo Smith at the republican meeting. At the Amphiction he participated in debate on the assertion that "the press should be without legal restrictions." But he is getting the fever and learns that "some of the students went to Iowa City to hear the Little Giant speak," but he argues with himself "whether or not to go to Cedar Rapids tomorrow and hear him myself. I will dream over it and decide in the morning. Most all of the students are going. My chum is going. I guess I shall have to go." The next day he went with the others, for the fame of the Little Giant (Stephen A. Douglas) as an attractive and persuasive orator had reached into Iowa as far as the Cedar river.

The Cornell college contingent arrived by train in the forenoon and the Little Giant did not show up until noon. "He was received with cheers although over half present were Republicans. He commenced speaking about one-thirty o'clock and spoke fifty-five minutes, after which Dodge spoke a few minutes. Douglas is about five feet, six inches in height, large head, round face, is quite red in the face, has a very good voice although much damaged by constant exertion, he is very graceful in gesture. A vote was taken upon the cars which resulted in Douglas receiving ninety-nine votes, Lincoln one hundred eleven, Bell three, among the men. Among the ladies Douglas twenty-four, Lincoln twenty-five, Bell one. More Republicans went to hear a Democrat speak than Democrats. Hurrah for Lincoln and Hamlin."

IMPERSONATES A NEGRO

Politics and other things were mixed in Hadley's room. He went to Lisbon to get some marbles for balloting at the Amphiction. He wrote that Lisbon resembled ancient Rome only he judged it was set on seventeen hills instead of seven, and was a mile long and about twenty rods in width. There was a political meeting in Lisbon and it "was a grand fizzle." Then one evening Hadley tried something else:

"Last night I had more sport than I have had for one year. I blacked my face and rigged up like a negro and went all over the town to see if any of the Republicans would keep me. Everybody had so little room that they could not keep me. They all directed me to the negro barber. Nobody suspected but I was a real negro."

He had a welcome call from his brother Frank who brought him a pair of boots and a pair of pants, and on November 7 he reports:

"Yesterday was election day. Lincoln carried the day by 100 majority. At Cedar Rapids he had a majority of 150. There was very little excitement here yesterday. It was the most quiet election day for president I ever saw. Anamosa has gone Douglas, though not a very large majority. While writing I hear three cheers down town for somebody; I suppose for Lincoln. My opinion is that he is our next president. I guess I will go down and see what the rumpus is. I have just returned from the street. They had a bonfire and were making speeches. They called for me but I did not feel like speaking, so I declined. The bell is now ringing for nine o'clock. I heard this evening that Chicago had gone 2,000 majority for Lincoln."

Five days later the "news of the election is still coming in. Lincoln is ahead. Hurrah for Lincoln." This closed the political record.

Young Hadley did not remain at Cornell college after the close of the year. His journal discloses that he was very busy with lessons and debates and compositions. He had a touch of social interest. The students sent a petition to the faculty asking for a "promenade" which was put off, but at a later time opportunity was given, just once, for the boys and girls to meet. The situation was thus described:

"Well! We are not allowed to see the girls at their rooms nor walk out with them, in fact are not allowed to have anything to do with them. Once or twice a term the young men get up a petition asking for a promenade which is generally granted. They set some night, then

the students all meet at the chapel, select their partners and commencing pacing the hall back and forth, then is formed a double row one moving one way and the other the opposite. Changing of partners is another characteristic. A young fellow desirous of changing introduces his lady to the other and the other returns the compliment. An exchange is thus made. It is seldom that a fellow can keep his lady until he gets twice around the hall. If he is introduced he is duty bound to exchange. This is not always the case though. Sometimes they get one that they can't get rid of. I engaged myself first rate last night. I had the honor of having the company of two of the nicest girls in the town and that is saying a good deal."

SCHOOL DAYS ENDED—ARMY SERVICE BEGINS

But there was doubt about the financial ability of Hadley to remain at Cornell, and in January we find him teaching school in Cass township, Jones county at \$18.00 a month and board. His schooling days were over.

Then came a final entry. It is not dated, but was certainly within a few weeks. He wrote: "South Carolina has withdrawn from the Union. She has fired upon a ship sent by the President to reinforce Fort Sumpter. Mississippi has also gone. Other states are threatening to do the same. Let 'em went!"

Then the final journal entry relating his own enlistment under Col. Wm. T. Shaw. Then the entry of sixty-two years later in the same hand. The little book discloses some other things about the boy who went from Anamosa to college at Mt. Vernon. He had bought a flute and was inclined to music. He copied into the book a few bars of music listed as "Hadley Favorite 1835," for flute. He copied in pencil a number of old songs—Belle Brandon, My Home in Old Kentuck, Gentle Annie, Nelly Gray, Old Folks at Home, and others. He attended chapel regularly and made a list of Bible references in the book. But he loved politics, and near the close of the book he gave a list of states and their pluralities for Fremont or for Buchanan in the last previous election.

College life is different now; also army life is something that would have seemed fantastic to young Charles W. Hadley, student at Cornell college of Iowa.

The book was sent to the Historical department by a man in Idaho who seems to have been connected in some way with the W. P. A. work, but had been a resident of Ogden, Utah.

GOOD SOLDIERS—BAD GUNS

A strange coincidence at the desk of THE ANNALS editor illustrates anew how the currents of history cross and re-cross. About the time of receipt of the journal above mentioned, by one who early enlisted in the Fourteenth Iowa regiment, two other blank book records came without solicitation to the Historical department relating to the same Iowa regiment of volunteers. These were a book in which was recorded the names of all members of the regiment, with enlistment and other facts; the other a book in which it was evidently intended to keep a complete record of the regiment and all correspondence relating thereto. These books were sent to Iowa by the Rev. Arthur Heeb, pastor of the Unitarian church, Northfield, Mass. They were found by Mrs. Charles E. Leach, of that city, "in an auction job lot."

Internal evidence suggests that probably these books were seized by the Confederate army at the battle of Shiloh, where Col. Shaw was taken prisoner, and that never before were they in Iowa.

There is revealed in the books a controversy that shows some of the difficulties the Union armies encountered in getting started to win the Civil war. This is the story of Iowa volunteers going almost direct from the farms and shops into battle armed with imperfect weapons, and the serious effort of an Iowa colonel and an Iowa governor to see that Iowa men were properly equipped.

The first entry in this letter book is copy of a letter dated Dec. 27, 1861, at St. Louis arsenal, addressed to Col. Wm. T. Shaw, stating that Col. F. P. Callender encloses an invoice of ordnance and ordnance stores turned

over to the quartermaster's department for the 14th Iowa. Following this is the reply from Col. Shaw as follows:

"Headquarters 14th Regiment, Iowa infantry, Benton Barracks, Mo. Dec. 30th, 1861. Lt. Col. F. P. Callender, Sir: Yours of Dec. 27th rec'd and in reply will state that the arms forwarded me have been thoroughly tested, and condemned as unfit for service. They are now in my possession, and will be held subject to your order. Enclosed please find receipt and duplicate, which I return to you, as I refuse to receipt for imperfect arms. Yours very respectfully, WM. T. SHAW, Com. 14th Reg. per N. N. TYNER, Adjt."

That was sharp and to the point. Back of it is a story worth recalling in this newer period of a different kind of warfare. It is elsewhere revealed in this regimental record book that when the Iowa colonel first asked for arms he was invited to "call at the arsenal and let me show you the arms I can furnish before the issue is made," but there is nothing to show what happened at that time. But it seems probable that Col. Shaw protested that the arms offered were not good, for he copies a letter from Gov. Samuel J. Kirkwood to him dated Dec. 27, saying, "don't take those old muskets if you can possibly avoid it."

Later the colonel made a report to Brigadier General Wm. T. Sherman as follows:

"Having made a requisition on the ordnance department for arms and accoutrements for 601 men, I received from Colonel Callender a number of packages invoiced 'Austrian Rifle Muskets.' Captain Shannon, of Co. E, 14th Iowa Vol., upon a verbal order from you, took forty pieces to try their accuracy of range. He reported to me that he had tried them, that they shot wide of the mark, that several of the tubes had broken or burst and many of the locks were worthless. I then requested Major Leonard of my command to take 40 and test their strength of barrel. He reported having tested them with two or three service charges, and that eighteen of the forty burst and that he considered them unsafe and worthless. I ordered them re-boxed and notified Col. Callender that they awaited his order, as I considered them unsuitable for service. Subsequently they were further tested by a commission appointed by yourself, with about the same result as the test by Major Leonard and Captain Shannon. I think from the great anxiety on the part of persons connected with the ordnance department to force these arms upon the troops, regardless of the

interest of the service, that it would be a proper subject for the commanding officer to enquire into, and see if there were not individual interests which prompted such action on the part of persons connected with said department."

DEFECTIVE AND WORTHLESS ARMS

There is in the letter book correspondence relating to other matters not pertinent to this story of the worthless arms, as to a misunderstanding about where the regiment was to be sent, and as to a shake-up in one company as the result of a personal quarrel of some members. But there is more about the guns. The complete and detailed report of the gun tests by Captain Shannon is copied. Then a letter to Major General Halleck late in January closes the incident:

"On my requisition for arms I received from the ordnance department guns invoiced 'Austrian Rifled Muskets,' many of which are unserviceable from defective locks, tubes, etc. They are an inferior arm and I do not think two-thirds of them can be relied on as effective. The arms have been condemned by a board of officers appointed at Benton Barracks Dec. 31, 1861, special order No. 108. They were afterwards distributed by order of Gen'l. Sherman dated Jan. 10, 1862 stating that was the best that could be done at that time. This report is made by request of Brigadier General Sherman."

To get the full import of this brief correspondence, a little of the history of the regiment should be told. Col. Wm. T. Shaw was a resident of Anamosa, Jones county. He was a veteran of the Mexican war. There were enlistments from nearly every eastern Iowa county. Recruiting was in October and November. Three companies were detached and sent north. Seven companies were mustered Nov. 3-7, 1861 at Davenport. Late the same month the seven companies were taken by steamboat to St. Louis. They were at Benton Barracks two months getting ready for service.

On February 5, 1862 the Fourteenth Iowa regiment took to the river again and went to Cairo and Fort Henry. By February 13 the regiment faced a Confederate army at Fort Donelson and had its first baptism of blood.

Later, at Shiloh the regiment was badly used and its colonel and many of the men fell into the hands of rebels.

It would thus appear that barely two months after these raw recruits from Iowa farms saw their first guns they were in battle. In the meantime they had seen something of what was ahead, for the regiment paused for a time at Cairo, where many of the soldiers who had suffered defeat at Bull Run had been sent and some to perish for lack of care. It was here that Mother Wittenmyer took over the care of the sick and wounded.

Colonel Shaw made his report on the various battles in which he was engaged after his parole from prison.

Was there any connection between the defective "Austrian Rifled Muskets" that the colonel flatly refused to accept, but which he was compelled to use, and the fate of the regiment at Shiloh?

There is no answer in the letter book of Colonel Shaw. His regiment lost 273 men at Shiloh. When ammunition was exhausted and he was surrounded, Colonel Shaw surrendered. A year later he was back at the head of his regiment and on the way to Vicksburg.

MILD WINTER IN IOWA 69 YEARS AGO

Mrs. L. B. Schmidt of Ames discovered in reading the old diary kept by her father, W. A. Wilson, pioneer of Kossuth county, that 75 years ago Jan. 18th, the temperature registered 78 degrees. It was an open winter. He also recorded that wild geese were flying over. This daily recording of events by Mr. Wilson covered a period of years from 1850 to 1898, until the time of his death.—*Story City Herald*.



Lincoln Rejected Governorship of Oregon Because His Wife Said 'No'

By Conrad G. Prange

Staff Writer, The Statesman

"Why, yes," Abraham Lincoln told some friends one day over a century ago, "I wouldn't mind accepting the governorship of Oregon—except that my wife won't have it."

Small items shape history and if the wife of Honest Abe had not balked at the thought of living in the savage west, perhaps the Willamette valley would have been the political springboard for the man whose birthdate is observed today.

He was born Feb. 12, 1809, in central Kentucky. His rise to the presidency in 1860 is, in a sense, bound up in the struggle of the Oregon territory for statehood. The problems of Lincoln, the nation and Oregon are linked.

The state of Oregon celebrates its 91st birthday Tuesday. After opposition from the republicans in congress (largely over a Kansas squabble) an act admitting Oregon to statehood was passed Feb. 12, 1859, and approved by the president two days later. An act of congress extending laws and judicial system of the United States over Oregon passed March 3.

Democrats Favored

The democrats in congress favored Oregon's statehood because it would give them two senators and one more representative on the eve of an important election. The republicans opposed it, but not all of them, because congress had recently denied similar privileges to Kansas.

Prior to all this, in 1849, the administration of President Zachary Taylor had offered the governorship of Oregon to Lincoln, who was just beginning his big-time political career. He was urged to accept it on the grounds that when the new territory became a state he would return to Washington as a senator.

It is said that Lincoln favored the idea but that his wife had no inclination to paddle her own canoe in Oregon's wild rivers.

Slavery Issue

The presidential election in 1860 aroused much excitement in Oregon. Slavery was an issue. The provisional government had already prohibited slavery in the Oregon country but had also passed a law excluding free Negroes.

Many in Oregon felt that with the rise of the republicans and Lincoln to power, "the war debt will be paid, the railroad built, and emigrants will not be murdered on the plains while thousands of troops lay inactive at their posts and a daily overland mail route established to the west."

Victorious in Oregon

Lincoln carried Oregon. But Marion county voted 865 for Stephen A. Douglas and 597 for Lincoln; Polk county gave 400 votes to

Douglas and 191 to Lincoln, and Benton county voted 342 for John C. Breckenridge, 205 for Lincoln and 118 for Douglas.

Indian wars and remoteness from the scene of battle kept Oregon occupied during the civil war. Feeling here ran high between northern and southern sympathizers. It was even rumored that Sen. Joseph Lane and others were planning to form a Pacific Republic comprised of Oregon, California and Washington territory.

Sentiment Divided

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation did not cause much of a stir in Oregon, and sentiment for and against it was divided.

Lincoln was assassinated April 14, 1865, and the report was published here in The Oregon Statesman on April 17. The death notice shared honors with the news of the end of the Civil war. Lincoln had helped shape the bill which extended territorial status to Oregon and he was mourned here.

Oregon Played Significant Role in Lincoln's Career

By BEN MAXWELL

Oregon played a significant role in the career of Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday is celebrated Sunday.

In a letter dated September 27, 1849 Lincoln refused to consider an appointment as governor for Oregon. It was hard decision. As governor for the Territory he would be in line for the U. S. senate when state-

hood was achieved. But the position was not to his taste. Perhaps it was not to Mrs. Lincoln's taste. She had had enough of frontier life, was opposed to going to the Pacific coast and would hear nothing of it.

Again, in 1860, the republican national convention was held at the Wigwam in Chicago. Lincoln was a candidate for the presidential nomination. But his nomination was by no means assured.

Then came four of Oregon's five votes for Lincoln on the third preliminary ballot. Now Abraham Lincoln was within one and a half votes of his goal. On the third formal ballot all of Oregon's votes went to Lincoln and the nomination as republican candidate for president was his.

Immediately after the first gun was fired upon Fort Sumpter, April 12, 1861, Lincoln issued an appeal for 75,000 volunteers. This notice reached Oregon May 11. Governor John Whiteaker did not respond. He felt that the Confederacy could never be defeated. Besides, Oregon was too far from the scene of conflict to be too much concerned.

Nor did the Emancipation Proclamation meet with universal favor in Oregon. The temper of the state was about as hostile to the negro as it was to extension of slavery. In fact, the population was somewhat evenly divided between Northern and Southern sympathizers.

Many staunch supporters of Lincoln and the North thought it might be wiser to remain at home and keep a close eye on local secessionists and their dreams of a Pacific Republic along with that dubious fraternity Knights of the Golden Circle.

David Watson Craig, proprietor of the Salem Argus from 1858 to 1863, studied law in Lincoln and Herndon's law office at Springfield, Illinois and when he took the bar examination Lincoln was one of his examiners. D. W. Craig was the father of F. Sumpter Craig, an oldtime Salem newspaper man

who only recently moved away from the city.

One of Lincoln's bitterest foes in Congress was George K. Shiel, an Oregon representative with strong southern sympathies who served from March 4, 1861 to March 3, 1863.

In view of his sympathies Shiel could expect no patronage and, indeed, received none. He returned to Salem and lived here almost continuously until the time of his death early in 1893.

* * *

Abraham Lincoln was shot April 14, 1865 and the report of his death was published in a Salem newspaper for April 17. That same momentous issue carried news about Lee's surrender at Appomattox and the most devastating fire that occurred in Salem during that decade.

Page two was ruled heavy black for all seven columns and the announcement was carried in a small box at the top of column five:

"About 10 o'clock in the evening of last Friday, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated and died 22 minutes past 7 o'clock on Saturday morning . . . It is not time for intemperate words, but if assassination is now the game of the rebels and their sympathizers, let Union men renew their oaths over the Flag . . . take brothers by the hand and swear before Heaven that the blood of Abraham Lincoln shall be avenged and that this damnable treason to our nation our laws and our country shall be forever destroyed."

* * *

Name of the sixteenth president of the United States is perpetuated in Oregon by the hamlet of Lincoln in Polk county and by Lincoln county, created by act of the Legislature February 20, 1893.

7611 1950

WHEN ABRAHAM Lincoln, who was assassinated 86 years ago today, entered the White House in 1861, it was nearly as great a triumph for Indiana Republicans as it was for Lincoln personally, because the Hoosier delegation had swung the biggest stick for his nominee during the exciting hours of the G.O.P. national convention.

The nation was split so widely on domestic issues that year that no candidate could predict a clear path to the nomination. Each candidate had his own views and his own following.

William H. Seward of New York was, perhaps, the strongest pre-convention candidate. Edward Bates of Missouri, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Lincoln were others.

LONG BEFORE the balloting got under way, Henry S. Lane of Indiana was working from morning through the swing shift lining up delegates for Lincoln. At 1 a.m. Thursday, the day before the balloting opened, he was seen, pale and haggard, walking from one caucus to another, pleading for Lincoln votes. He argued that Lincoln had been a Whig and would satisfy those who adhered to the Whig principles.

Lane concentrated particularly on the Pennsylvania and Indiana delegations. Indiana had been uninstructed but Pennsylvania delegates were lined solidly behind their candidate, Cameron.

Pennsylvania finally agreed on Lincoln as a second choice and on the second ballot swung 48 of its 54 votes to the Illinois candidate. Indiana delegates fell in line unanimously on the opening ballot.

AFTER NOMINATIONS had opened, Caleb B. Smith of Connersville and Indianapolis had leaped to his feet to second the nomination of Lincoln and set off one of the wildest demonstrations of the convention.

Indiana was the Lincoln bulwark from the beginning. It cast more votes for the winner on the important first ballot than any other state and was the only state to vote unanimously for Lincoln, except Illinois which was in line on a favorite son basis.

When the votes were counted, Seward led with 173½. Lincoln followed with 102. Two hundred thirty-three were necessary for the nomination.

ON THE second ballot, Smith, the Hoosier, who had seconded the Lincoln nomination, presided. Strengthened by the shift of Pennsylvania delegates which Lane had helped engineer, Lincoln polled 181 votes, a gain of 79. Seward gained, too, but his total rose only 11.

On the third ballot Seward lost 4½ votes but Lincoln climbed to within one and one-half votes of the nomination.

When the Ohio chairman rose to announce the change of four votes from Chase to Lincoln, the convention broke into enthusiastic and thunderous applause. The entire crowd rose to its feet. Men threw their hats into the air; women waved their handkerchiefs. The applause was renewed and repeated and it was many minutes before quiet could be restored.

LANE, RECEIVED with great cheers by the convention, spoke shortly before the convention closed, but he was so weak from his previous efforts that after a few minutes his voice failed completely and he was forced to quit.—R. S. S.

'Honest Abe' Didn't Fare Well In 'Old-Home Region' in 1860, But He Carried Vanderburgh

In November, 1860, as in November, 1952, the Republicans were whooping it up. Their candidate had carried home all the honors. Abe Lincoln was President.

Honest Abe had been the pre-election choice of the newspapers in this area and for days before the election on Nov. 6 the campaigning had been heavy.

Long newspaper accounts assured the people that Honest Abe would "save the Union," while if the Democratic candidate, Stephen A. Douglas, should win, the country was doomed to "go to the dogs."

Scolded Voters

One editor roundly scolded the "27 good Republicans in Union Township" who "didn't even go to the polls and vote in 1856." He urged them to vote early this year.

It was an important election. The country was on the verge of a Civil War.

But, it was three days after the election before the outcome was anyways certain and then the western states still weren't in.

Apparently voters hereabouts didn't entirely agree with the editors who were so wholeheartedly in favor of Honest Abe.

Narrow Margin

In Vanderburgh County he won by the narrow margin of 325 votes and that was his largest majority in this area.

DuBois County repudiated him entirely, casting 1347 votes for Mr. Douglas and 301 for Lincoln. Spencer County stood by its son by a narrow 188 votes and he carried Posey County by only 73 ballots.

Here is a tabulation as published in local newspapers:

County	Lincoln	Douglas
Vanderburgh ..	1867	1542
DuBois	301	1347
Spencer	1296	1108
Posey	1128	1055

Nine days after the election, when it definitely was Mr. Lincoln, President, the Republicans staged a "Republican Jubilee" in Evansville.

The jubilant editors headlined the event:

GREAT TURNOUT OF REPUBLICANS

LINCOLN MEN ALL ALIVE

THE COUNCIL FIRES BURNING BRIGHTLY

And the account continued:

"One of the most cheering demonstrations of the season was made last night by Republicans in this city. At an early hour the Wide Awakes, in full uniform, with lamps burning brightly, left their hall and marched over a short route to Mozart Hall. They were led by the C. C. Band and also had Simpson's Martial Music Band. They carried their victorious flag and several transparencies.

Sang at the Hall

"At the hall there was instrumental music and several songs sung by the Glee Club, the audience joining in with a will in the chorus. Short and lively speeches (apparently unknown to 1952 campaigners), were made by Messrs.

Conrad Baker, James G. Jones, Blythe Hines, John W. Foster and Phillip Decker (in German).

"After the meeting the procession was reformed in the street and, numbering over 500 persons (more than half of the Republican voters must have been snugly tucked in bed at this point), went down into Lamasco, thence 'over the Rhine' to Seventh Street, up to Walnut, down to Third, up to Oak, down to First, down to Main, up to the Courthouse (then located at Third and Main), where it countermarched and then to headquarters where it dispersed.

"Along the line of march fireworks were sent up and the joyful Republicans in the procession made the welkin ring with their shouts and songs."

The defeated Democrats had a meeting too and the papers dutifully reported:

"The Douglas men met at the Courthouse last night, where they had some speeches."

CLUB TOLD EAST BACKED LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln's sincere acceptance by the people of New England, while he toured there in a series of addresses, was said last night by Richard F. Lufkin, writer and lecturer on Lincoln lore from Boston, to have been of untold influence in convincing Lincoln that he could become president of the United States.

Mr. Lufkin spoke and showed historical slides at the annual meeting of the Lincoln Club of Delaware, attended by 200 in the Soda House at the R. R. M. Carpenter estate, Dilwyne, at Montchanin.

In his remarks commemorating the 147th anniversary of Lincoln's birth, Mr. Lufkin told how Lincoln in 1859 had been encouraged by leaders of his party in the Midwest to become a candidate, but had not received the full flavor of his

See LINCOLN—Page 6, Col. 5

Lincoln—

Continued From First Page

popular appeal until he made his trip East. Prior to that time he had been introduced through the press and in talks in Chicago and other cities, but came East as a real test of his popular support.

Lincoln was described as "an uncommon common man with talents devoted to the service and interests of his fellow men."

Tour Given In Pictures

The tour, which Lincoln made, was pictorially presented on the screen with a series of pictures, which showed the places where the future President stayed—scenes of his addresses and the many homes in which he was guest of party leaders.

The eastern visit took Lincoln to Philadelphia, then to New York and afterward through Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

Mr. Lufkin emphasized the importance of the Lincoln address at Cooper Union in New York, which launched his New England tour. He showed how in this address that Lincoln stood forth for his views on the slavery problem and closed with the statement "Let us have faith that right makes strength."

Lincoln's whirlwind tour, more amazing in its scope because of the ardors of travel in those days, was described as a journey of 935 miles through New England accomplished in 10 days.

Press clippings of the day were included in the slides as evidence of the ability which Lincoln achieved. There were some clippings shown which also demonstrated the views of the opposition press, but even these were tempered with appreciation of the ovation which Lincoln received at every appearance.

Collection Lauded

Mr. Lufkin referred specifically to the Lincoln collection which he visited earlier in the day at the Wilmington Institute Free Library and which was described in a memento pamphlet distributed at the dinner meeting. This collection contains over 2,000 books and pamphlets, many photographs, prints, medals and other material pertaining to Lincoln's private life and public career. This collection was acquired as a gift in 1938 from Frank G. Tallman and has been added to since that time by contributions of interested Lincoln enthusiasts.

The opening invocation was offered at the dinner by the Rev. Dr. William C. Munds, rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Greenville.

Mr. Lufkin was introduced by the president of the club, Samuel Lenher, who welcomed the members and conducted a brief business session.

Five new directors were named. They are Stewart E. Poole, Robert G. Hackett, Edwin P. Neilan, Walter Beadle and Arnold Goldsborough. The nominations were placed before the membership by the nominating committee chairman, Paul J.

Nowland, whose committee consisted of G. Morris Whiteside and Alexander L. Nichols.

In his membership report the secretary-treasurer, Harland A. Carpenter, reported a club membership of 207.

Pennsylvania Can Take Credit For Abraham Lincoln Too

Would you believe that even northeastern Pennsylvania can take some of the credit for Abraham Lincoln?

A dandy story in the *Elmira (N.Y.) Star-Gazette* dug into history to find an absorbing story for modern-day readers. It dealt with a meeting held in May of 1859 in Honesdale, Pa.

Early in 1859 the leaders of the Republican Party scented victory in the coming presidential election. Their problem, observed the newspaper, was to steer the nominating convention of 1860 into choosing a candidate who would be acceptable to all factions of the party.

Several men hoped to be the Republican nominee and actively campaigned to gain support in their quest of the honor said the *Star-Gazette*. Among them were: William Seward of New York, William Dayton of New Jersey, John McLean of Ohio, Edward Bates of Missouri, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Seward was considered the front-runner.

Eastern leaders of the Republican Party decided, early in 1859, that a parley must be held at which they would choose the man they would attempt to nominate at the convention. The place for this "pre-convention" meeting was Honesdale, Pa.

At the meeting was Simon Cameron, U.S. Senator and political boss of Pennsylvania; Horace Greeley, publisher of the *New York Tribune*, and Andrew Curtin, Republican candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

The meeting was held in the office of attorney Samuel Dimmick, who later became attorney general of Pennsylvania.

During the parley the merits and liabilities of the possible nominees were

Around USA

carefully weighed. Greeley was opposed to Seward and had advocated Bates in his paper. The others felt Bates was "too far west," according to the newspaper and would fail in the national election.

Seward was eliminated after it was agreed that he would not carry the "must win" states of Pennsylvania and Indiana. Seward had supported measures not favored by many in those states while he was governor of New York.

Finally it was agreed that Abraham Lincoln was the man they would attempt to nominate. They then plotted, according to the article, the strategy they would use in their efforts to secure his nomination.

Simon Cameron's delegation was considered the key to Lincoln's nomination. Cameron was to be the "favorite son" candidate of this delegation and they were pledged to give him their votes on the first ballot. The strategists felt sure that the surrender of these votes to Lincoln on the second ballot would stampede the convention and result in Lincoln's nomination on the third ballot, or succeeding ballots. History proves how perfect their plans.

The Chicago convention was called to order on May 16, 1860, with David Wilmot of Wilmot Provision fame as temporary chairman. Wilmot knew Honesdale very well. He was born at Bethany, only five miles away.

On the first ballot Seward, as expected, led Lincoln 173 and a half to 102. On

the second ballot Ohio switched 14 of its votes to Lincoln, followed — as planned at Honesdale — by 44 of Cameron's Pennsylvania votes. The second ballot gave Seward 184 and a half votes, Lincoln 181. A third ballot was immediately taken with Seward receiving 186 votes, Lincoln 231 and a half; only one and a half votes short of nomination. Before the result was announced, Ohio gave Lincoln five more of its votes, giving him the nomination.

As the *Star-Gazette* noted, "the Honesdale-planned maneuvers had worked perfectly."

After Lincoln's election came the task of selection of his cabinet. It was then that the "payoffs" were made to those responsible for his nomination. Salmon Chase was named Secretary of the Treasury. Simon Cameron was given the coveted post of Secretary of War. His tenure was short. He was soon dismissed and replaced by Edwin M. Stanton.

(Thanks for the clipping from R. J. Wills of Mansfield, Pa.).

Odd Wisconsin: Lincoln's election elated state GOP

October 26, 2010 1:15 pm • [Wisconsin Historical Society](#)

Next week marks the 150th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's election as president. It was a historic event in which many Wisconsin residents took part.

In May of 1860, Isaac Usher of La Crosse traveled to Chicago for the Republican convention that nominated Lincoln. "I came to this convention pining for the nomination of William H. Seward of New York," he said when it was over, "but I'm going home to fight like a badger for 'Old Abe' Lincoln of Illinois."

When Lincoln won the nomination on the third ballot, S.S. Daggett, a stoic and dignified insurance executive from Milwaukee, leaped up and down uncontrollably. Beside him another delegate burst into tears. "I can't help it!" his neighbor explained, while nearby an old man shouted at the top of his lungs, "Glory, glory hallelujah!"

Over the next several months, Carl Schurz of Watertown campaigned for Lincoln almost non-stop, giving speeches from St. Louis to New York. Schurz is widely credited with delivering the immigrant vote for the Republicans on Nov. 6.

On election day, Wisconsin Republicans were even more excited than they'd been in May.

When telegrams reached Milwaukee that night at 2 a.m. reporting Lincoln's election, "The crowd went wild with shouts and cheering; hats were flying to the ceiling, against the walls, and to the floor" Joyful Lincoln supporters hauled a cannon into the streets and shot it off to celebrate their victory.

None of the Republican revelers could imagine that five years of carnage and tragedy would follow Lincoln's election.

— *Wisconsin Historical Society*, www.wisconsinhistory.org

http://host.madison.com/news/local/odd-wisconsin-lincoln-s-election-elated-state-gop/article_95d15e6c-e11f-11df-bf24-001cc4c002e0.html#ixzz2UtvIEz6N

The "Boom for Abraham Lincoln" for the sixteenth President of the United States took place at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, in May, 1869, just one hundred years ago, when a political parley was held in the law office of Attorney Samuel Dimmick, who, in 1873 was appointed Attorney General of Pennsylvania.

This building shown above, is located on Ninth Street, Honesdale, on Park Hotel property, owned by Mr. and Mrs. James Coyne, operators of the hostelry. They have decided to make this building of historical significance and importance, a shrine to Lincoln, and it will be properly marked by the erection of a plaque.

It was within the four walls of this structure that three Nationally known Statesmen, Simon Cameron, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, Andrew G. Curtin, who was gubernatorial candidate in the Keystone State, elected in 1861; Attorney Samuel Dimmick, later Attorney General, and an influential journalist, Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune. He owned a tract of land in Pike County, Pennsylvania, and spent his week-ends at the place, where he established a colony. Later the place was named Greeley for him.

Greeley selected Honesdale as being accessible for all concerned to discuss and possibly select a possible candidate who would win the nomination as there were several candidates under consideration. The National Convention was scheduled to be held in Chicago in 1860, and there was no time to lose.

It appeared to leaders of the party of New York that William H. Seward was most likely to be nominated; he had made several speeches in the interest of the Republican party and was accepted, generally speaking; and coming from the largest State he naturally would have the largest number of delegates in his favor. However, upon investigation, it was manifested that he was not acceptable to leaders in Pennsylvania and Indiana, on account of certain measures he had advocated while Governor of New York. It seemed that Seward would not be able to carry either Pennsylvania or Indiana in the general election.

It so happened that Curtin of Pennsylvania and Lane of Indiana had been nominated to the office of governor on the Republican ticket for their respective States. In order to carry their own election they would have to be able to elect the Republican head of the ticket. Curtin knew that Greeley was opposed to Seward, because the New York Tribune had advocated Bates in open editorials, he being from Missouri, a distinguished Whig from a slave State. Cameron being a Pennsylvanian was to be the choice for President of the Pennsylvania delegation on the first vote. Greeley wanted them to turn to Bates on the second ballot but the others would not agree to this, thinking that Bates was too far West, and could not be elected; neither could Seward owing to factional fights that he had been in, so they agreed the best thing to do was for Pennsylvania to support Lincoln on the second and following ballots.

On May 16, 1861, following the conference at Honesdale, the National Convention opened at Chicago in a temporary frame building erected for the special purpose of the convention and was called the "Wigwam." The convention was called to order by Morgan of New York, chairman of the National Republican Committee. He named David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania temporary chairman of the convention. (David Wilmot, a native of Bethany, Wayne County, Pa., was the author of the famous Wilmot Proviso. This name, so frequently heard during the previous 14 years, in and out of Congress, thrilled the great body as with an electric current. From the way the votes were cast for the presidential candidates at the National Convention it appeared that the suggestions made in the parley at Honesdale a year previous were carried out, the incident fitting as a glove on a hand.

The first ballot gave Seward 173½, Lincoln 102, Wade 3, Cameron 50½, Bates 48, McLean 12, Chase 49, Dayton 14, Collamer 10, Fremont, Sumner and Read each 1.

On the second ballot the first wave of enthusiasm that swept the convention, was when Ohio gave Lincoln 14 votes. This was only preliminary to that which enveloped the assembly when 44 of the Pennsylvania delegates came to Lincoln. At the end of the roll call Seward had gained but 11 votes, while Lincoln men gained 79.

The third ballot was taken. Seward had 180, Lincoln 231½, which made the requisite number of Lincoln short 1½ votes. Amidst wildest excitement delegation after delegation changed to Lincoln until his vote reached 354, which was 121 more than the number required to nominate him.

Editor Horace Greeley boarded a Delaware and Hudson Canal Packet boat and rode to Honesdale, other members of the political party riding in "The Pioneer," passenger car over the Pennsylvania Gravity Railroad and stage coach to Honesdale.



Old wood cut showing stage coach transportation over the old plank road, from Narrowsburg, N. Y., to Honesdale, Pa.



The packet boat, occasionally seen on the D.&H. Canal, Honesdale, Pa., to Rondout, N. Y., a distance of 108 miles.

(The above is reproduced from the Republican Committee's Lincoln Day Dinner Program.)

New England and the Northwest

Census of 1860

Massachusetts contribute to Ohio	16,313
Michigan	9,873
Indiana	3,443
Illinois	19,053
Minnesota	3,719
Wisconsin	12,115
Iowa	6,214
Kansas	1,282

Adelphi John A. Anderson

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